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Fourth and Last PART

of David OF A *Murray*

C A V E A T

Against the

WHIGGS, &c.

In a Short

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

Their Behaviour in the Reign of Her
Majesty QUEEN ANNE.

Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia Regna. Virg.

The SECOND EDITION.

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THE
FOURTH AND LAST PART
OF A
CAVEAT

WHIGGS



HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE
THEIR BEHAVIOUR IN THE REIGN OF HER
Majesty QUEEN ANNE

By JOHN HANCOCK, ESQ.

THE SECOND EDITION

LONDON

Printed, and sold by J. HANCOCK, at the
Sign of the Anchor, in St. Pauls Church-yard

A Short

HISTORICAL VIEW

OF THE

Transactions

OF THE

WHIGGS, &c.

ONE, who has perform'd with good Success in our English History, complains, that a Writer of it can hardly avoid one Fault, which is, the introducing most of the Events as they come in order by recommending them as still more surprizing than all that are past: A Prologue of this Nature may indeed seem to relish of Empericism, but if there be really such a Gradation in the Subject, it will give the Author this Advantage, that without forestalling his Readers, it will enliven their Curiosity and their Attention will be secured

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cured with less Art and Pains than might be otherwise requisite to keep them awake.

This is some Encouragement to me in my present Undertaking ; for tho' the Party which is the Subject of this and the preceding Volumes, move in very regular Order, and are wonderfully steady and uniform in Mischief, tho' their true Dimensions may be taken by this short Rule, that *they are always turbulent, seditious and factious, when they are out of Power, and arbitrary, tyrannical and insolent whenever they have it in their Hands.* Yet we are not to have so mean an Opinion of them, as to think, that with all their wicked Industry and Application, they do not make Improvements. There are also some Positions of Affairs which set the Picture in a stronger Light, and give it a bolder *Releivo*. And certainly they have never shewn their natural Colours so plainly, and in such a glaring Manner, to the Eyes and Understandings of of the most Blind and Ignorant, as in the Space of Time which is to be contained in this last Part of these Papers.

In the Reign of *Charles* the Martyr, the daub'd Outside of the Saint and Patriot hid the Deformity of the Traytor ; and under his Successor the Care of the Publick Safety against the Danger of Sedition, being called Persecution of tender Consciences, moved Pity : The Retaliations the suffering Party took Care to return in the next Reign were imputed to the Frailty of humane Nature. It was justly feared the Religion of the Royal Brothers had received some Tincture from the Customs of those Countries, into which they had been exiled by rampant Usurpers ; there were some Pretences to be

be apprehensive on that Score, and in the Matter of Civil Government, the wrong Steps into which the same Party had forced one of those Princes, and wheedled the other, made their pretended Care of the Publick seem not unseasonable, and concealed their black Designs from those, who could not see thro' the thin Covering.

But under her present Majesty their Carriage has been as much without Pretence as President. In the Beginning of her Reign they had no Reason to clamour or complain, unless it were of too much Lenity and Indulgence; and because the heavy Hand of the Government, which they did not only provoke but imprecate, did not fall upon them to furnish them with some Excuse for their counterfeited Fears, their Insolence both to their Sovereign and Fellow-Subjects, after their Clamours had raised them to the Power, which they unworthily possess'd, was as unprovoked as unpardonable; and the Extravagance of their unparallel'd Seditious and turbulent Behaviour since they tumbled from the Height of their airy Hopes, will admit of no favourable Interpretation, unless it be imputed to a Turning of their Brains by a Turn of Fortune, and a general Destruction of the Party occasion'd by their Disappointments.

In the mean Time, the greater and better Part of her Majesty's Subjects being perfectly satisfy'd that their Queen has always kept this indisputable Maxim in View, that the true Grandeur of a Prince consists in the Welfare and Happiness of the People: That her Heart being entirely English, both her Reason and her Affections have directed all her Endeavours

to that great End; and relying no less on the Prudence than the Justice of her Majesty's Administration, cannot but look with Detestation on the Proceedings of that restless Faction. They cannot esteem those Men as good Subjects who have cried up such Doctrines under the best of Princes, as are hardly justifiable towards the worst of Tyrants; nor can they think that those who rail against the Administration of the Government, because they cannot find those Mistakes which they watch for with malicious Diligence, who prefer the Miseries of a burdensom unprofitable War to the Blessings of Peace, and the Interest of a neighbouring Republick, before that of their native Country, can lay any Claim to the honourable Title of a true Patriot. The Bulk of the Nation is now convinced, that their Liberties can never be safe when the just Rights of the Crown are invaded, nor the publick Welfare subsist when the Government is brought into Disreputation; and it is plainly discovered that both these have been the Aim of the Faction, who like the Jay in the Fable, are now strip'd of all their borrowed Plumes, in which they lately strutted, and are become even the Contempt of that Rabble which was used to admire their gaudy Appearance, and that most formidable Artillery is now turn'd upon them.

But perhaps this may be an Argument against my tracing them further than I have already done; their Malice is so plainly detected, and their Weakness so fully discovered, that any further exposing them may seem unnecessary, if not uncharitable; they are thought to Labour under mortal Symptoms, and their present

sent Struggles are looked on as the convulsive Agonies of an expiring Party ; therefore some may be of Opinion, that it would be the best Way to let them Die in Peace and be Buried in Oblivion : For my Part, I think, that were the Party as Defunct as I wish it, a History would be no more uncharitable, than an Anatomy Lecture, the Actions of the deceas'd in the one, as the Body in the other, are not rip'd up and dissected out of Malice or Cruelty to the dead, but for the Advantage and Instruction of the living. But I am not of a Constitution sanguine enough to despise an Enemy, or to think the Nation can be out of Danger while there remain any Signs of Life in this implacable Faction, if they Die, I am sure, they will not Die in Charity, and therefore deserve no Quarter ; but how often have these Sons of the Earth, after they have been foil'd, revived and seem'd to take fresh Vigour from their Falls; and have again required the utmost Strength of Herculean Loyalty to quell them ? How often after their Practises have been laid open to the Sun, have they again pass'd their stale Delusions on a bubbled Nation, who being too liable to Relapse frequently into the same Mistakes and Dangers, cannot be too much warn'd against them ?

To go no further backward than the last Reign, which is still fresh in Memory, one would have thought, that the Inclinations they then discovered towards the Constitution both of the Church and Monarchy, were sufficient to have debar'd them for ever after from the Power of giving any further Proofs of their good Intentions ; and that the personal Re-

spects which they shew'd to the immediate Heir in the Intail of the Crown were such, as gave no great Hopes of their Loyalty and Fidelity when She came to possess it; which last particular I could not find Room to dispose of in the Part wherein the Transactions of that Reign are contained, but is too remarkable to be pass'd over in Silence.

Altho' at the time of the Revolution that Branch of the Royal Stem seem'd to be possess'd of a great Share of their good Graces, yet the same Vote which put an End to King *James's* Reign, made such a Gap in her Right of Succession, as not improbably might have sent her to the Grave in as private a Condition as that of her unhappy Father, and for ever have debarred her from the Possession of that Crown, in the wearing of which, her greatest Satisfaction and only Ambition is, the Prosperity of her Kingdoms and the Happiness of all her Subjects. I must confess, I do not wonder, that the People should then entertain great Notions of their own Power, when one Breath of their Representatives not over regularly assembled, could blast the whole Royal Family.

Had the P. of O. and his Lady come to the Throne by the open Passage of a Natural Demise, the Administration had probably not been solely placed in him, and some Things done in his Reign might not then have been in his Power. But it was in vain now to quote Precedents, tho' our Histories afford one of a Prince of greater Power and not less Ambition. We know *Magna Charta* was once before *Magna Farta*; the Sword was drawn, so that if the Knot could not have been untied it might have been

been cut, and the Right of Conquest might have been more generally set up and have serv'd some Peoples Turns much better. Those who did not approve these Proceedings, could not hinder them; they might indeed by opposing have given some Proof of their Courage and Honesty, but had shewn no more Wisdom than those ancient Gauls, who march'd in Battle Array against the Inundations of the Sea.

But in a little Time the Princess had an Opportunity of distinguishing who were her Friends. I shall not pretend to guess at the Design of a further Limitation of the Succession, at a Juncture when every Day expected the Happiness of making an Addition to the Intail of the Crown; the 24th of July 1689 having had the Honour of putting an End to that Debate, upon which Increase of her Royal Highness's Family it was mov'd in the lower House that her Revenue might be rais'd from 30000 *l.* to 70000 *l. per Ann.* which, how reasonable soever, considering her necessary Expences, was baffled, by some who were for drawing all the Money into the King's Coffers, which they hoped to empty into their own Purses.

But as every Day gave a further Light into the Schemes of the Party, and added Courage to those who did not approve them; the same Motion being made again, the next Session of the Parliament, it found the Approbation of a Majority notwithstanding *Hambden's* Insinuation that it might be dangerous to settle a Revenue on a Princess, who had so near a Claim to the Crown, and the Opposition of those who would have had her Bread more precarious here, than that of the exiled King in the French

Court ; and these so far possess'd his Majesty, that a Message was sent to her Highness by the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and *Mr. Wharton*, to persuade her to rely on the King's Generosity ; to whom her Highness prudently return'd Answer, *That since that Affair was before the Parliament, it must e'en take its Course and be concluded by that wise Body.* But so hard was the Struggle, that at last 50000 *l. per Ann.* was all that could be obtained, which was made payable out of the Excise, and tho' less than the Princess expected, was thought too much by those who could not think any Thing too little to be enjoy'd by any of that Family.

What Sort of Generosity her Highness would have met with, had She trusted to an empty Word, did afterwards appear by the Usage of her Royal Offspring, who had not above a third Part applied to the Service of his Household of what was allowed by Parliament, and such Officers placed about him as neither his Mother nor the sound Part of the Nation could approve, especially in the Instance of a second *Buchanan*, appointed as his Preceptor to instruct him in Revolution Principles and the Doctrine of total Subversions, in which no one was deeper learned ; which occasioned a Question in the House of Commons, Whether a Scotchman, and one who had such Notions of Government (to which some added, of Religion also) as he had publish'd to the World, was qualified to be so near a Prince, who was next to the presumptive Heir to the Crown ?

It were Presumption in such Eyes as mine to pry into those Arcana which occasion'd the unhappy Difference between two Sisters, more
illustrious

illustrious still by their own Qualities than the Blood derived to them from their Royal Ancestors : But I hope I may be allow'd to conjecture to what Purpose it was fomented till the severe Usage the Princess met with, obliged her to leave the Court and to live in an obscure Retirement, more like a private Person in Disgrace than the Heir apparent to the Crown : But herein their Politics fail'd, and had an Effect quite contrary to what was intended ; for on the one Hand the Carriage of the Princess under so smart a Trial, was so unexceptionable and so free from any Expression of those Resentments which might have been naturally expected, that her Enemies with all their malicious Vigilance could take no Advantage from her Conduct ; and on the other Hand, those who saw that illustrious Lady without Guards or any of the Distinction due to her, going to the Service of God to her Parish Church, with an Equipage not exceeding that of the common Rank of Gentlewomen, could not but cast Reflections on some great Persons, and entertain Suspicions of the indirect Methods which were supposed to be then carried on to her Disadvantage. And this gave such Alarms to great Numbers of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry, as perhaps chiefly tended to the defeating of the Designs, which were afterwards form'd against her.

The Satisfaction which the Party unseasonably express'd on the premature Death of the Duke of *Gloucester*, plainly shew'd that they look'd on him as the great Obstacle to the Accomplishment of these Projects. With him died the Hopes of all those who wish'd a happy Continuance to the English Church and Monarchy :
But

But upon this Misfortune, which was perhaps the greatest *England* has ever suffered by any one Stroke of Death, nor can it yet be estimated, the Consequences of it being still in the Womb of Time, the drooping Spirits of those who languish'd for a King from the other Side of the Water, immediately revived, and those who retain'd their Aversion for Monarchy, were animated with fresh Vigour in the Prosecution of their Endeavours; their Carriage was then so extraordinary that it could not escape the Notice of an Historian, whom they may call their own, and even the good Bishop of *St. Asaph* himself express'd his just Indignation thereat, in a prefatory Discourse before the Sermon which he preach'd on that sad Occasion: But that Reverend Person having been since possess'd with a Portion of that Spirit which (to use the Stile of so great a Master) *God, for our Sins hath permitted to go forth for a Time and trouble sore the Camp, the City and the Country, (and oh that it had altogether spared the Places sacred to his Worship)* and having thought fit to suppress that Preface and give us in its Stead *I know not what*, I shall here present it entire, hoping that it will be accepted as a good Dish, added to an ordinary Bill of Fare, and not be the worse approved, because we have since had another Entertainment from the same Hand which was disliked by some good Palates, and being serv'd up cold to the numerous Guests of one, who daily regales the whole Town at a Two Penny Ordinary of Wit, was used as the Law directs in the Case of unwholesome Food, to prevent any ill Effects it might have on the Body Politic.

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The first Preface to a Sermon preach'd upon the
Death of the Duke of Gloucester.

I Give this Sermon up to the Desire of a great many good People of the Parishes of St. Austin and St. Dunstan in the West, to whom I can deny nothing of this Nature which they shall find reasonable to ask of me; But not to their Desire only, but also to the Hopes I have, that from something or other hinted at in it, other wise and vertuous People may be put upon considering whereabouts we are, and on contributing all that lies in them to the preventing whatever Evils we may apprehend from the great Loss we have sustained in the Death of the most noble and most hopeful Prince the Duke of Gloucester. I know I have no other Aims than these, in making this Sermon publick; and they who know me well, I believe, think so too: I undertake not therefore to defend the Irregularity of some of my Thoughts, nor the Order in which they are rang'd; they were produced in Grief and deep Concern, and that I think may, in some Sort, excuse them with tender and good-natur'd People. I am only careful of guarding against two Sorts of Men; 1. Such as will needs call this great Misfortune, a Judgment of God, for what has past amongst us. 2. Such as will certainly try to make it one, as soon as ever they can. To the first, we must freely own, we have deserved God's greatest Judgements, but not for the Cause they Assign; and freely own that this Misfortune has the Face of one, and is as heavy as a Judgment; and therefore I hope all People will improve under it, and make as good Use of it, as if it were indeed a Judgment. But till they shall produce some certain and impartial Rules by which they proceed in forming
Censures

Censures, and in applying them to Nations, or to private People, they will give us Leave, I hope, to suspend. And to the second Sort, who think to turn a Kingdom into a Common-wealth, I can only say, that I hope the Extent of our Dominions, the Number of our Nobility, the Honour of our Gentry, the Genius of our People, and the whole Current of our Laws, will always provide us with a ready Answer to an *impudent and clamorous Faction*. God, I hope, will evermore preserve us from a *Species of Government, as ill fitted for our Nation, as Popery is for our Religion*.

Without Question this worthy Author then thought he had Reason to charge those, whom he justly terms, *an Impudent and Clamorous Faction*, as a Set of Men who would endeavour to render that Misfortune, a *Judgment of God upon us for our Sins, by turning the Kingdom into a Common-wealth*. In which I perfectly agree with him, and am fully satisfy'd, that not only then, but at all Times, That is the great Mark, at which, the Aims of the whole Party (or at least all such of them as know what they would be at) are constantly directed; tho' it be a *Species of Government, as unsuitable to our Civil Constitution, as Popery is to our Religion*.

That in the latter End of that Reign, this Design was more warmly chased, and that to this Purpose, Resolutions were taken and Projects founded, to impeach the Title of the next Heir to the Crown, and exclude her from her Right of Succession; tho' they did not proceed so far as to any Overt Act, which may amount to a legal Proof (at least not as is yet publicly known) yet I can no more doubt it, than that
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the same Design was concerted and agreed against her Father, when Duke of *York*, before the Bill of his Exclusion was brought into Parliament. How deep the Mine was laid, What were the Heads which directed, and the Hands which wrought it, must be left to the Eye of Time to discover. There wanted not those who suspected that the King himself was engag'd in in some Design of that Nature, and Reports were spread that among his Papers, some were found after his Decease, tending to the Prejudice of her present Majesty or her Succession to the Crown: But the Lords who were employed by her Majesty to inspect those Papers, declar'd they did not find any which might give any Ground or Colour for such a Report; which was thereupon voted to be groundless, false and scandalous. Nor is it likely, so much Warning as they had of the King's Death, that any such thing should be suffer'd to appear, which would have expos'd his Memory to *Odium*, and the Heads of his Advisers to the Block. But if any such Papers ever had a Being, or any such Design ever reach'd so high, it is to be fear'd, that some of the Lords, who so loudly complain'd of those Reports, were deeply concern'd therein, and knowing the Strength of their Friends in that House, took a prudent Course to cry *Whore* first. But whether because the Papers were not found, the Men are to be judg'd innocent, or whether it was not rubbing on the Sore which made them so uneasy, I shall not determine. The Votes against Dr. *Davenant* and poor Dr. *Drake*, for glancing on this ticklish Affair, and the Prosecution, or rather Persecution of the latter (who for meddling with

un-

unseasonable Truths, was at last, their Martyr, being so drench'd with their bitter Cup of Moderation, that it ended his Days) were more than sufficient to quash those Reports, and deter others from declaring their Sentiments. But the Empire of Thought is always free and uncontrollable. There seems to be Reason in what the late Earl of *Rocheſter* said, That the making it Treason in the Time of *Charles II.* to say the King was a Papist, inclin'd him to believe that he was of that Religion, and I must say with a late Author on this very Occasion.

Nescio quid Peccati portat hac Purgatio.

But because I would not be thought apt to entertain groundless Suspicions; and nothing is more abhorrent from my Nature, than to utter a wilful Calumny, or brand a false Imputation, even upon the worst of Men; I must take Leave here, for my own Vindication, to shew upon what Foundation I build my Opinion in this Matter, and these are, First, The Right or Power they claim'd, by which they fancy'd they might justify such an Attempt. Secondly, The Reasons which might induce them, and Thirdly, The Methods they took in order to it.

As to the First, by the Principles generally receiv'd, and which pass undisputed among them, they must be naturally led to imagine they might, on Occasion, lawfully alter, not only the Succession of the Crown, but even the Form of Government. If the People are the Original of Government, and the dernier Resort of Power; if that be the *Basis* of the Monarchy, and the

the Queen had no other Title but the Consent of the People, or an Act of the Representative ; it must be allow'd as a Maxim, *Quoque modo aliquid constituitur, eodem modo solvitur*, What they could make they thought they might alter or annihilate.

As to the Reasons which might induce them to endeavour such an Alteration, I shall venture to guess at two or three, which probably might appear to them to be sufficient : First, Their Averſion to Monarchy in general. 2dly, The hereditary Hatred they have born towards the whole Family of the *Stuarts*, more upon Account of the Kingly Office than any personal Demerits, the immediate Right of Succeſſion being then derived from that Blood, which Right their good Will to the Monarchy would not ſuffer them to allow ; and in theſe Points we ſhall find they have neither been aſhamed nor afraid to diſcover their Diſpoſitions. 3dly, They knew the Heart of Her to whom the Crown was next to deſcend, to be intirely Engliſh, and her Principles and Inclinations to be inviolably firm to the eſtabliſh'd Church, which the Diſſenters have always coupled with Popery and might queſtionleſs, in the Opinion of that Part of them, be made as good a Ground of Incapacity : And laſtly, As we know them to be Men who ſeldom loſe the View of their own Intereſt, they might have ſome Reason to apprehend, that if her Forgiving Nature could paſs by the ill Uſage She had met with, yet her Principles would make her cautious how She truſted thoſe who had given ſufficient Demonſtration of their owning ſuch Maxims, as were inconſiſtent not only with the Church and the Monarchy, but the
common

common Interest and Welfare of the People and Nation in General.

The scandalous Omission in the *Ryswick* Treaty, which takes no further Care of the Settlement of the English Crown and Government, than only to acknowledge the King then Reigning; and is absolutely silent as to the Succession, seems to be so wilful, as leaves no other Way to account for it, but that they were tender of preserving their imagin'd Right of making what Alterations they thought fit, and that the Neighbouring Potentates should be left at Liberty to acknowledge and approve them.

This, though but a Negative Fact, is yet a Proof of their Affection: But I shall now proceed to Note some of the Advances which they have made in this great Design, wherein I shall trace their Steps no further than the Marks are plainly apparent; for tho' we lose the Track, yet the Road will direct us where they intended to end their Journey.

Whenever that Party zealously contend about any particular Doctrine, I cannot think it to be advanc'd and pursu'd meerly for a problematical Diversion, or an Exercise of Wit, but that they certainly intend to bring it to Use and Application; and this I make no Question, was the Meaning of the violent Attacks then first made upon Her Majesty's Hereditary Title, which being defeated, She could have no other, but what was derived from the Choice of the People, or the Power of an Act of Parliament, by which, in Truth, her Right was not created, but only acknowledg'd.

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The Sights and Indignities put upon her to depreciate and villifie her in the Eyes of the People and rob her of their Affections, could have no other View; the Account of their Behaviour given by Dr. *Drake*, however then censured, was notoriously true, That the whole Party treated her not only with Disrespect, but Spight; That they were busie to traduce her with false and scandalous Aspersions, and so far carried the Affront, as to make her the common Subject of almost every Coffee-House and Drawing Room, which they promoted with as much Zeal, Application and Venom as if a Bill of Exclusion had then been on the Anvil, and these were the Introductory Ceremonies.

But finding that the blackest Clouds of Detraction and Calumny could not obscure the Brightness of her Vertues, they thought by setting up a rival Light to make a Diversion at least, if they could not raise an Aversion, soon after the second Succession Bill was passed, which carries on the Intail to the House of *Hanover*, and was the Act of those who are since industriously represented as Enemies to that Succession. Some forward Gentlemen were vehemently pressing to have the *Electress Dowager* and the Electoral *Prince* of that Family called over by publick and solemn Invitation to make their Residence here, and, because Money was very plentiful, that they might have an established Revenue equal or superior to that of the Princess and Prince of *Denmark*; which with the Advantage of a Jointure, and perhaps a further Allowance from their own Court, would have put it in their Power infinitely to out shine the immediate Heir, and draw the Court Flies into

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their

their warmer Beams, which might raise Jealousies and mutual Distrusts and occasion the banding of Parties to the several Interests; they were sensible of the good Will the Dissenters bore towards the Princess for her firm Adherence to the Church of *England*, and saw with Pleasure the Storms which seemed to gather and hang over the Court of *St. James's*. Whoever will look on this Prospect and impartially consider the little Use and great Expence and Inconvenience of that Proposal, may easily conclude, that those who promoted it did it with no other Design but to lay a Bar cross her Majesty's Way to the Throne. And I do not think that the History of any Country can shew one Instance where remote Heirs were called for with so much Importunity when the Heir apparent was in good Health and capable of Issue, which by the Law might exclude them from the Throne for Ever. In any other Country or at any other Time such a Motion would have been look'd upon as bordering upon Treason; and surely this cannot be absolutely over-look'd as if nothing dangerous were couch'd under it, without the last Degree of Stupidity.

A Writer for a Party may sometimes start particular Notions of his own, or in the Heat of a Dispute may over-shoot himself so far as to be dropp'd by his Friends; but generally speaking they are the Vehicles by which the Sence of the Side they are engaged in, is convey'd and distributed; when any Thing considerable is to be undertaken, two or three Pamphlets are sent out like Advice Boats to make a Discovery of the Posture and Disposition of the Enemy, and give Intelligence to their Friends.

Upon

Upon this Occasion the prostituted Pen of Mr. Toland was employ'd (as most equal to the Task) to publish Reasons for inviting over the *Electress Dowager* and Electoral Prince of *Hanover*; wherein after he has batter'd her Majesty's Hereditary Right with such Fury that he fancies he has demolish'd it in order to level her Title with those which stood behind her, he proceeds to prefer theirs, by unqualifying her for the Crown, and having justified the Deposing of King *James* (as he calls it) for Tyranny, he proceeds to tell us, that it appears from History that all free People have set aside the Children of Tyrants for Reasons of eternal and universal Force, as inheriting the Principles and Designs of their Parents. So that if her Majesty was the Child of King *James*, as she was the only one acknowledged, we see how this Author had taken Care of her: But in the same Pamphlet he carries the Matter on further, when proposing to the English the Example of the Romans in the Case of *Tarquin*, he says, that *Junius Brutus* who, to use the Words of *Livy*, was not a more zealous Asserter than watchful Guardian of Liberty, got the People to make an Act of Banishment against all those of the *Tarquinian* Name, and lest they should be soften'd by the Bribes or Intreaties of the Royal Family he engaged them by an Oath that they would never suffer any of them to reign at *Rome*; and lest the Authority of *Livy* alone should not be sufficient to provoke us to Imitation, he repeats the same Example out of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, according to which Proposal and President, all the Race and Name of the *Stuarts* must not only

have been excluded from reigning, but drawing their Breath in the Land of their Inheritance.

That this may not be look'd on only as the Sense of a single Person, to which he was emboldned by the Circumstances of that Time, we may find it paraphrased in Rhyme in a Poem publish'd in her Majesty's Reign, for which the Author has a better Claim to a Wreath of Hemp than of Laurel : This free spoken Gentleman declares himself in the following Manner.

*Faction
display'd
Part 2d.*

*I own the Right an injur'd Nation did,
When she from Rome her threatned Altars freed.
Applaud the Just and more approv'd Design
Of quite exploding that detested Line.*

*Essay upon
the present
Interest of
England.*

Besides the being born of the Blood of King James, they could find no other Exception, which they dared to publish, except her Sex, and that they levell'd at by another celebrated Hand of that Party, who speaking of the Salique Law, which excludes Women from the Government in France, has this Encomium upon it — But that wise Constitution in the French Government prevails not among its Neighbours, who will blindly persevere to give France the same Advantage over them which the Church enjoys over the Laity in Popish Countries. If the Glories of her Majesty's Reign have not made him a Convert, they have at least disarmed the Force of his Argument : Undoubtedly it must be with a very good Design that these Doctrines were broached in a Country where the Heir apparent was a Woman and the Daughter of an exiled King.

But whatever their Designs were, they found they had not Forces sufficient to carry them on,
altho'

altho' to strengthen the Party and influence Elections, the Commissions of the Peace and Lieutenancy through the greatest Part of *England* had been scandalously changed, Gentlemen of the best Estates, Reputation and Interest generally turn'd out and the Power put into the Hands of mean, obscure and obnoxious Persons, many of whom had, in the former Reign, testified their Readiness to give up the Laws and Constitutions; and the Indigence or Inclinations of the rest, was such as would easily guide them to a Compliance to the Directions of their Leaders. Altho' the King was perswaded to dissolve two Parliaments successively, without any previous Sign of Dissatisfaction or any visible Cause, but because the Party was not strong enough in the House of Commons, and hoped for a better Hand by shuffling the Cards; and tho' the King was also wrought upon to descend to Closeting and other Arts, mean in themselves and of the last ill Consequence to the Liberties of the People, yet all proved insufficient, they could not pack a House of Commons for their Purpose; and thus that good Project and *William* the Great ——— drop'd into the Grave together.

It may be thought I have wasted too much Ink and Time in this Affair, which I could not well avoid; the Subject being dark, requir'd the more Light to make it visible; I look upon it as too considerable to be left unregarded, for notwithstanding the wicked Design prov'd abortive then, their Behaviour since, shews they have never abandon'd it or laid it aside, so far as to omit any Opportunity of taking it up again, substituting another Word in the Room of

Exclusion, and to have pass'd it over slightly and rudely, without laying down such Proof as the Matter was capable of, and which was such as could be expected in so dark an Intrigue; would have required nothing but a bold Denial to have mark'd it with the Censure of a groundless Aspersion, of which Sort of Contraband Commodities, that Party have oftentimes made a very gainful Traffick ; but I have neither so much Love for their Practices, or Hatred to their Persons, as to be invited to an Imitation, or provok'd to a Retaliation in that Kind. If the Pains I have taken are sufficient to satisfy an unbiass'd Reader, I have all I aim at, for as to the adverse Party, notwithstanding that all the Evidence I have produc'd in this Cause, is of their own shewing, and drawn from their own Acts and Deeds: I know they will plead not Guilty. I have not the Vanity to expect any Confession or Acknowledgment from those who have the Front to deny their Plots in the Reign of King *Charles II.* which were so irrefragably proved, and those Proofs corroborated by the Confessions of the Parties concern'd, nor can I yet hope for any such Signs in them of Grace and Amendment.

I have taken no Notice here of the Reports which were spread of Designs concerted in *Germany*, after the Invitation fail'd, that the *Hanoverian* Troops were to be drawn down into *Holland*, that upon the King's Return, a sham Insurrection was to be made in *Scotland* or *Ireland* (to give a favourable Pretence to the King, our Army here being disbanded) to send for those Troops over with their Prince to command them, tho' we have seen that the *Militia*
was

was plac'd in such Hands as might probably concur in those Measures; nor shall I mention the Names I have heard of some who were to have been charg'd with the pretended Plot; to which Purpose, the Whispers were put about, of blind and clancular Bargains, made, nobody knows where, and the Oath of Abjuration propos'd to be forc'd upon a certain Great Lady, nor for what some People lost their Places, after the Death of King *William*, and particularly the Lord *Lucas*, who was turn'd out of the Lieutenantancy of the Tower; these being in the Darknes of their present Circumstances, Materials more proper for a secret History.

But before I take Leave of this Affair, I must reconcile one seeming Inconsistency. The Party is charg'd above with Republican Schemes, whereas whatever was here done or intended, seems to have been in Favour of the *Hanover* Family, and at the worst, the Effect only of an over-zealous Care to preserve the Crown upon Protestant Heads. We must here make a Distinction between the Deceiver and the Deceiv'd: The true End of these Designs is never discover'd at the first setting out, it is common for those to embark in the same Vessel, who are bound for several Ports. Those who first joyn'd in the great Rebellion, and the late Revolution, and to bring it to an exact Parallel, those who concurr'd in the Exclusion of the Duke of *York*, and sooth'd the Ambition of his Nephew, acted with very different Views; and tho' possibly some of them might now be in earnest: It appears to me very plain, that in the Bulk of the Party, the pretence of advancing the *Brunswick* Interest

Interest thus unseasonably, was at the Bottom only a Grimace, and that the real Design was the Introduction of such a Form of Government, as they have all along struggl'd so hard for : And in this Opinion I am fortify'd, by the Carriage of the same Party afterwards to that House, which shall be remark'd in its proper Place.

But to what End can we think the Works of the most violent Republicans, such as *Milton*, *Ludlow*, *Harrington* and *Sidney*, were publish'd in the latter End of King *William's* Reign ; some of them under the avowed Patronage of the Chief Magistrates of the City of *London*, and their Title Pages affix'd to the Gates of the Royal Palaces, as if it were done in open Defiance of Monarchy : To what Purpose could several new Advocates appear in the same Cause ; from which Heap I shall pick one Pamphlet, which was printed in the Year 1701, when the King's State of Health made all People apprehend, that his Life could be of no long Continuance.

The Author, like a young *Columbus*, has discover'd a new Country, situate beyond the Line, being Part of the great Southern Continent, or *Terra Australis incognita*, which tho' it be little known to the rest of the World, by Reason of the Mists and Fogs which lie almost continually before the Coast ; yet the People have found Means to know the World, and are well skill'd in the Arts and Learning of Europe. It seems this *Noland* very much resembles *England*, both in Soil and Climate, and (tho' it may seem incredible) the Inhabitants are of the same Religion, speak the same Language, have the Eng-
lish

lish Laws, and their Government was exactly conformable to the Monarchy of *England*, till the Royal Line failing, they became a free State.

For when their last *King* died suddenly without *Heirs*, which also happen'd in an Interval of Parliament, the Peers met with Speed, at the usual Place, and gave Notice to the Members of the last House of Commons to meet there likewise. The great Business was to choose a new King, and they unanimously concurr'd in the Choice of one called *Aristeus*; whether this *Aristeus* was a *Hollander* or a *Nolander* does not appear, but by the Character, *Germany* seems to have no Claim to him, and perhaps it would not be an easy Matter to find him out.

He is here describ'd as a Man of the highest Quality, a Person most accomplish'd in every Respect, who had been the late King's Chief Minister and Favourite, to the great Satisfaction and Delight of the whole Kingdom. But this excellent Person seriously excus'd himself, and would by no Means accept the Crown. He advis'd them rather to keep the Power in their own Hands, and to settle themselves in the happy and glorious Condition of a *Free State*. He told them, that both he and the late King (who was the best of Men and a true Lover of his People) had long considered and advis'd about such a Government, and had digested it for them. A Government wherein all such Degrees should find their Account and feel their Condition better'd, should be enrich'd, advanced and adorn'd with the Spoils of a Monarchy, and should have those Advantages shared amongst them which in a Monarchy are engross'd and swallowed

swallowed up by one Man; where the Peers (who you must know were now become the white Boys of the Faction) would be in greater Splendor and Honour; where the Gentlemen would have a mighty Increase of Dignity, and where Trade and the learned Professions would have a high Encouragement; where also the meaner Sort, by their Right of Suffrage in Elections, would oblige the great Ones to treat them kindly and without any Appearance of Insolence or Oppression. But he chiefly insisted on the great Strength which this Government would give them against Foreign Enemies, that the Nation would be infinitely stronger in a well ordered *Free State*, than under a Monarchy, (especially a mixt one.) Telling them further, that this was no more than needful, in Regard to the great Power of their Enemies; that the Neighbouring Idolaters who were furiously bent to destroy the Christians, were very potent, especially one overgrown absolute Monarch, that was ready to devour all that Part of the World, so that it greatly concern'd them to provide for a vigorous Opposition. And the Author confirms these Sentiments of his *Aristeus* by a Passage out of one of Card. *Mazarine's* Letters, magnifying the formidable Power of the Republick of *England* above that of their King's, which Letter was writ at the Time of the *Pyrenean* Treaty, when the long Parliament was yet in Being. The Meaning of all this needs no Explanation; we may indeed be as much at a Loss among the Ministers of a Prince, who was then likely in a short Time to die without Heirs, for a Man that deserved *Aristeus's* Character, as for a *Cato* among our late discarded

discarded Patriots : But perhaps it would not be so hard to find more than one who had the pretended *Aristeus's* Design in their Heads, so far forth at least as Confusion might serve their Turn. And this I believe was in Truth the Bottom of all their pretended Zeal for the House of *Hanover* ; they thought the contending Parties would not peaceably unite under one Head, if there were an Opportunity of ranging under different Banners, and by these Concussions they thought to shake the Monarchy in Pieces and out of its Ruines to erect a Government according to their own Model.

But all their politic Ropes of Sand were once again untwisted, the Belgic Hero leaves the Stage, and her Majesty immediately obtains the quiet Possession of her paternal envied Throne, to the infinite Joy and Satisfaction of all good Men, but not without some Terror to these evil Doers ; they had Cause enough to fear that their Carriage to the Princess would have provoked the Frowns of the Queen, and the Attempts they had made to break in upon the Religious and Civil Constitution. The Spoil they had made of the publick Treasure, and the Hardships and Affronts with which they had loaded all those both of the Clergy and Laity, who had had the Courage and Honesty to detect and oppose them, having made them obnoxious to all good Churchmen and true Patriots, must naturally fill them with Apprehensions of deserved Vengeance and Punishment. In this Dejection of Spirit, their Crests were so much fallen that they would willingly have surrender'd at Discretion, and would have been glad of an Indemnity with an Exclusion from publick Trusts
and

Offices : They who not a Month before breathed nothing but Defiance were in an Instant grown the most dutiful Subjects, the most affectionate Friends and most peaceable, meek and Christian spirited People in the Universe : They preach'd nothing but Charity, Peace and Love, Forgiveness of Injuries, Oblivion of Wrongs, and the utter Extinction of Parties and Faction for Ever : So very good and gracious can Men appear when they think themselves under the Rod.

But tho' all this sudden Humility and unusual Submission and Sweetness of Temper was merely the Effect of Fear, and did not flow from any new Dispensation of Grace or a Conversion to Christian Principles, yet when the Head of the Church and, after her Example, the Members of it also were inclined not only to forgive, but to forget past Injuries, when instead of Punishment, those who had given such high Provocations did not meet with so much as a Rebuke or Reproach, but comfortable Speeches and kind Assurances from the Queen her self, and a good Countenance from some of her prime Ministers : It might have been reasonably hoped that this would have wrought such a real Conviction of Conscience as might have been a great Step towards their sincere Amendment and hearty Return to their Duty, instead of which, this undeserved Treatment did but elate their Spirits, their Humility and peaceable Temper immediately vanish'd, their former Insolence and Presumption return'd in full Force upon them ; and we shall soon find them begin again to challenge and provoke both Church and Government as boldly as ever.

The

The Complexion of Affairs at that Time gave them great Encouragement ; the destructive Fire of War is the natural Element of these Salamanders, wherein we were not yet engaged, but the Advances already made and the dangerous Flames which seem'd to threaten the greatest Part of Christendom, left no Way of retreating, which would be consistent either with Prudence, Honour or Safety.

The last War carried on above Nine Years by the united Force of *Europe*, headed by a Prince of so martial a Genius and great Abilities as the late King of *England* was Owner of, had rather increased than diminished the formidable Power of *France*, and the short liv'd Interval of Peace had been more fatal to the Confederate Interest than the most unsuccessful War could possibly have been ; *Spain* with all its Dominions and Dependencies both in *Europe* and *America* fell at once into the Hands of the House of *Bourbon* ; our Neighbours the *Dutch* were in a Manner dismantled and blocked up, and tho' it was not the French King's Business to enter into Hostilities till the new Acquisitions of his Family were better establish'd ; yet as unprovided as his Neighbours were, common Prudence obliged them to joyn and take speedy Measures for their Safety, in which *England* was so much concern'd, that She was necessitated to take up the Sword again in the Assistance of her Allies.

The War seeming unavoidable, those who chiefly regarded the Interest of *England* and seriously reflected on the ill Conduct of that we had been last engaged in, and the heavy Debts it had left upon the Publick, were for proceeding on the Foot of former Treaties, and with such
Management

Management as might have been more easie to our selves, and have oblig'd those who were more nearly concern'd, to exert their Strength in their own Cause : But the Generality of the People, by the Artifices of those who knew well enough how to work on their Passions, were so terrified with Apprehensions and provoked with the late Indignity offer'd by *France* in countenancing a Pretender to the British Crown, that the Nation fell into the War with such Weight and Violence, that there was no turning to the Right or Left, or making the least Pause to consider in what Course it might be best pursued to the Advantage of *England* ; but the Government was hurried on with the Current, how dangerous and pernicious soever it was like to prove.

The Earl of *Marlborough* was immediately made Captain General of her Majesty's Forces, and for his greater Honour adorned with a Garter. The late King who was as well acquainted with his Qualifications as his Interest, had foreseen these Effects of her Majesty's Favour and his own State of Health giving him Cause to apprehend a short Continuance in this World, he had recommended him to his Countrymen as the Man on whom they were chiefly to depend after his Decease, when that he might be less a Stranger to them. *William* resolves to sacrifice his Resentments to their Interest, and procure a Reconciliation with the Earl, in order to introduce him into their Acquaintance, and at the same Time finding that his Deluge of Bounty to his new Favourite, unlike the old one had been only poured like Water thro' a Sieve, and that therefore he might stand in Need of a
Friend

Friend after the Loss of so kind a Master; the King to kill two Birds with one Stone, employed him to manage this Affair, as if it were entirely of his own Motion. The Matter was quickly agreed, to the Satisfaction of all Parties, and the Earl made General of the Foot, General of his Majesty's Forces in *Holland* and Ambassador and Plenipotentiary to the States, to whom he was now sent again with the same Character from the Queen, without stopping at the ordinary Formalities, to assure them, not only of an exact Observance of the Treaties and Alliances made with them by her Majesty's Predecessors, and her Readiness to confirm them, and to concur with all the Measures taken by the late King in Pursuance thereto. But to enter into such stricter Engagements, as should most conduce to the Interest of both Nations, the Preservation of the Liberty of *Europe*, and reducing within just Bounds, the exorbitant Power of *France*, that in the mean Time, her Majesty was ready to this End to concur with the Allies, with all her Forces, as well by Sea as by Land; and to shew her Zeal the more, had authoriz'd him to concert with their Lordships, the necessary Operations.

Had her Majesty made the least Hesitation, the factious Artillery of Scandal was ready to have been discharg'd at her and her Ministers: The noisom Vapours which were vented only in Grouling Murmurs, like distant Thunder, would then have rattl'd in our Ears, and deafened us, as of late, with the Noise of *Popery* and *Slavery*, *Paris*, *Rome* and *St. Germans*.

But

But this stale Cry proving but stinking Fish, they were oblig'd, for some Time, against their Inclinations, to be tolerably quiet: In the mean Time, the military Preparations went on with all possible Expedition, and the Supplies being granted before King *William* died, the Civil List was settled on Her Majesty, a Commission of Accounts enacted without Tacking, which could not be done before, after which, this Parliament was first prorogued and afterwards dissolv'd.

May 15.
July 19.

Her Majesty saw with Concern the Sparks of Dissention kindling afresh, and in her Speech to the Parliament, when she parted with them, after thanking the Commons for the Supplies given to support her in that necessary War, and the Provisions they had made for the Debts contracted in the former, and recommending to them the Preservation of the Publick Peace in the several Counties, and a due Execution of the Laws, she concluded thus, *I shall always wish, that no Difference of Opinion among those who are equally affected to my Service, may be the Occasion of Heats and Animosities among themselves. I shall be very careful to maintain the Act of Toleration, and to set the Minds of my People at quiet: My own Principles must always keep me entirely firm to the Interests and Religion of the Church of England, and will incline me to countenance those who have the truest Zeal to support it.*

This Conclusion stung them to the Heart, and quickly discover'd the Bottom of their good Affections to her Majesty's Service: It was not only a Toleration which would content these Saints: A Permission to go quietly their own Way to Heaven, was but a blind to hide their Designs of possessing themselves of Dignities
and

and Dominions upon Earth : They could not endure that any should be countenanc'd, who were truly zealous to support that Church which they have so long labour'd to pull down ; nor could they think any others fit to be trust-ed or employ'd, but themselves and their Friends : The most prudent, most honest, and most successful Administration, in any other Hands, never did, nor ever will please them, so long as they can entertain any Hope of getting into Power and Places, and securing the Management of Affairs to their own Party.

The Generality of the People were at this Time perfectly easie ; they were so well satisfy'd with the Firmness of Her Majesty to the Protestant Religion, that they were not to be scar'd by the Raw-head and Bloody-bones of *Popery*, nor could the Noise of *France* and the *Pretender*, work any Effect upon their Apprehensions : One was abjur'd, and the War was carry'd on with that Vigour and Success against the other, that the Nation seem'd animated with a new Spirit, as well in the Cabinet as in the Campaign. The public Credit was restor'd, the military Schemes concerted with Wisdom, and executed with Fidelity and Courage, whereby, the Glory of *England* recover'd its ancient Splendor : But whilst the rest of *Europe* saw with Admiration, what was perform'd, and what might be further expected from English Soldiers, under the Command of English Officers, and the Direction of true English Councils ; while the Hopes of our Allies, and Dread of our Enemies had fix'd all Eyes abroad upon us, and the Nation appear'd outwardly with such a healthy Aspect, the Canker within us was eating to

our Vitals. The Actions which raised Esteem, even in the Breasts of those who felt the Smart of them, mov'd the Envy and Discontent of our Domestic Enemies, to whom public Blessings were the worst of Curses, and who would rather have had the Ship sunk, than to make a prosperous Voyage, when the Rudder was in any Hands but their own: It was Death to them to see their Calumnies expos'd and confuted by Experience, and they justly fear'd it would never pass again upon the most unthinking; that the Ministry, upon most of whom they had fix'd those Aspersions, could be Friends or Pensioners of *France*; that the French were beaten out of pure Love; or, that their King had hired the English Ministry and Generals to drub his Troops into good Manners.

Since their last Fall, these Serpents had not yet erected their Heads, nor re-assum'd the Courage to fly directly in the Face of Majesty, but they could not forbear shewing their negative Respects. The last Reign, as unhappy as it was, had all their Applauses, and the next in Prospect, their Wishes. The glorious Memory of King *William*, and the *Illustrious House of Hanover* were the Themes they dwelt on, and the Healths which went with Acclamations round their gloomy Cabals; one was their Welcome of Her Majesty to the Throne, and the other their Vows for Her long Life and Reign: If the Queen was mentioned among them, it was but as a Parenthesis, which they did not think mended the Sense; and by the cold Indifference with which it was circulated, it seem'd as if that Toast did not agree with their Stomachs; the other were the *Shibboleths* by

by which they distinguish'd their own Tribe, and which, if they had been able, they would have made as fatal to others, as that Word was formerly to the *Ephramites*. Of these their good Inclinations, I must give one remarkable Instance in our Neighbouring Island, in the Capital City whereof there was a Club of Gentlemen which used to meet, and one or other of their Members always sitting as President, all the Healths were begun from the Chair: It happen'd that a Stranger was admitted, as an Acquaintance of one of the Society, and this Person took upon him, contrary to their settled Orders, to name a Health, which he dedicated to the glorious Memory of King *William*, and press'd it with more Warmth than good Manners: The Irregularity of proposing it rais'd Exceptions against it, and one of the Company took it, upon Condition that he might have the same Liberty of putting round a Health in his Turn, which he did to the glorious Memory of *Balf*, who had been a notorious Robber; this begat some Discourse, and perhaps draw'd on some Comparisons between great Thieves and little ones. For this high Misdemeanor the Gentleman was inform'd against, and the Archbishop and the Recorder of *Dublin* laying their Heads together, the Offender was not only severely prosecuted to the utmost Stretch of the Law, but seeing that could not reach so far as they would have extended it; if they could not take away his Life, they were resolv'd at any Rate to deprive him of the Means of living: He being a Fellow of the College, the Bishop sent for the Head or Master and declar'd his Will and Pleasure that he must be expell'd.

The Point appear'd somewhat Difficult, but the College Statutes being rumag'd over and over, at last it was found that Blasphemy was a Cause of Expulsion; to this Statute they presently tack'd a Piece of Scripture, *Thou shalt not blaspheme God and the King*; and thus Deifying the Work of their own Hands, the poor Gentleman for too free and perhaps too just a Censure of a dead ——— suffered as if he had affronted the living God.

It was the Heat of their Discontent, under the present Administration, which made their Zeal boil into these violent Ebullitions for those which were past and to come; but their Concern for the Advantages they had lately lost, was too great to suffer them to wait with Patience for a Re-instatement in another Reign; some Measures must be taken to regain a present Possession, and as there were no visible Hopes that her Majesty would, out of Choice, trust them, untill they had given greater Signs of Amendment, they fell again upon their old undermining Methods of traducing and opposing the Government, and sowing Jealousies and Discontents to make the People uneasy with their Governors and them consequently uneasy in their Stations, that at length they might be tired or forced out, and the Queen necessitated to surrender the Power into their Hands.

To this End Weekly Scriblers were hired to retail Scandal, who erected themselves into a new Kind of Censorship under the Titles of Observators and Reviews, and by inventing Lies or travestying, disguising and distorting the Truth, took all Opportunities of finding or making Faults in the publick Management.

These

These have always been their first Preliminaries to Mischief; the next Step is to give out a Watch Word, to raise an Alarm and work up Discontents into Fears of present Danger, to excite the People under the Notion of their own Safety to oppose those who are set over them. It was necessary at this Time to rouse the Activity of all who were Friends to their Party, to exert their Endeavours in the Elections of Members for the ensuing Parliament, for without a Strength there, all their Engines will always recoil upon themselves; on a sudden therefore being disappointed of their old Threadbare Topics, they open their Throats with a Cry of Persecution, by which, like that of Fire in the Stillness of the Night, these Thieves hop'd to put the honest Neighbourhood in Confusion, and then take the Advantage of it to work their own Ends.

But as there was not the least Smoak to be perceived to occasion this false Alarm, those who were acquainted with their Practices smelt a hot Smel of Knavery, which put them upon their Guard and made them think it their Duty to awake those who slept, and to point out the Quarter from whence they were really in Danger: This occasion'd the Publication of some Treatises, wherein the past and present Proceedings of the Dissenters, and those who join'd with them under the Notion of Moderate Churchmen, were freely censur'd and the dangerous Tendency of them plainly laid open.

It is no Wonder that those on the other Side should endeavour to hush the People into an indolent Security, and tell them that all this was nothing but Priest-Craft, and how danger-

rous a Thing that was to Religion and Government. But the furious Manner in which they treated those Watchmen, who were so vigilant for the Safety of the Church, shew'd more Inclination to be active, than Fear of being passive in the Matter of Persecution; among whom a young Gentleman of Oxford, who then made his first Appearance in Print, had a large Earnest of those Favours which have since, by the Divine Providence, been turn'd to Ends so happy for the Nation and so contrary to the Intention of the Doners.

It was no small Disappointment to the Faction, that altho' there had been no Want of Provocation, yet in all the Tracts publish'd against them, there was not one which touch'd upon the Toleration, or offered any Argument or Word against Ease and Indulgence to tender Consciences, upon which they could lay any Foundation for their pretended Fears, and perhaps the Temper of these moderate Men was warm'd to this immoderate Heat, as much for what was not said as for what was; they would much rather have seen every Page shine with the Blaze of Fire and Faggot, to have had every Line enrich'd with Fines and Forfeitures or furnish'd with Goals and Gibbets, which they would have esteem'd at this Time as a great Happiness; but they had not languish'd long for those Comforts, before Care was taken to furnish them to their Hearts Content, in a Pamphlet, intituled, *The shortest Way with the Dissenters*, wherein there was so much Truth charged upon that Party, that it pass'd currently as the Work of one of those they call'd High Church Men, (which villanous Distinction

stinction was rais'd about that Time to separate and destroy those, whom united they could not hurt;) and tho' the pretended Heat and Earnestness of the Author to have the Dissenters treated according to their Deserts, was universally condemned by all Churchmen in general, yet it served the Purpose well enough to brand that whole Body with Blood-Thirstiness and a persecuting Spirit, till by the Diligence of the Government it appear'd that no Churchman had been so little a Christian, but that it was done by one of the Chief Scribes of the other Party, with a worse Design to halloo the Mob to make the World believe that the Dissenters Throats were to be cut the shortest Way, and to provoke those to begin first for their own Preservation, for which wicked Attempt the Author had his just Reward; but the Party were so little ashamed of it, that whenever it was objected against them it was only grinn'd off as a Piece of Wit and Management.

But tho' at this Time their Plots prov'd addle in the South Parts of the Island, they had better Success in *Scotland*, on which they had built their greatest Hopes.

Till very lately, it had been happy if the Saying *Omne Malum ab Aquilone* had been establish'd as a Maxim in the English Politics, for while the Scepters of the two Kingdoms were held by different Hands, *Scotland* was a Back-door always to open to the French to the Annoyance of *England*; from thence afterwards came *Knox's* System of Religion, and the accursed Covenant it's Daughter, with all their Vipourous Brood of Consequences were hatch'd and fomented there, which made some witty

Men, who call'd that Part the Posteriors of the Island, say it was troubled with *Hemerhoids*, for which they thought that Lancing was the only certain Cure, and those who feared the Danger of that, found Cause to repent of gentler Courses. The close Correspondence between the Brethren of both Nations, was then too late look'd into, and the Effects too severely felt, which might have been prevented by a more early Care; but our noble Historian takes Notice, that the King was so jealous of the Privileges of his native Kingdom, and of any Thing that look'd like a Dependance on *England*, that the Affairs of that Nation were never communicated to the English Council, but left to the Direction of two or three Scots (who probably put these Notions into his Head to make use of them as they did to his Ruin) and so little was the Curiosity either in the Court or the Country, to know any Thing of *Scotland*, that when the whole Nation was solicitous to know what pass'd Weekly in *Germany*, *Poland* and all other Parts of *Europe*, no Man ever enquired what was doing in *Scotland*, nor had that Kingdom a Place or Mention in one Page of any *Gazette*; to which Negligence, as much to be lamented as admired, may be ascribed all the following Misfortunes. The mischievous Commerce between the Whiggish Faction of both Kingdoms has been as duly continued ever since, and Agents maintained for that Purpose, while on the other Hand the Churchmen have so little improved by dear Experience, that by the Neglect of some and Treachery of others both before and since the Revolution in 1688, the Episcopal Church of *Scotland* has been suffered a second Time to fall

to the Ground, to the imminent Danger of its contiguous Neighbour Church; nor was there any Ear of Pity open to the Groans of those who were overwhelm'd in its Ruins, or a Synagogue allow'd that People to assemble after their Temple was destroy'd: Moderation and Indulgence which were so well cultivated here, were Plants which it seems would not grow in that cold Climate. The Saddle and Bridle of Presbytery had now for 13 Years sorely galled the Backs and Mouths of the Episcopal Party, and made them uneasy enough under their rank Riders, and the Discouragements lately put upon the *Darien* Adventure, and some growing Branches of the Trade of that Nation, had put those who were concern'd either for private or publick Interest into no small Disorder; they had swallowed them 'tis true, but they lay broiling upon their Stomachs, and by some four Eructations which broke out in Speeches and Remonstrances, it was easy to perceive they were not digested; it was hoped and feared that these Heart-burnings might be the Seed of some violent Distemper; and while the Government was carefully administring cooling Remedies, the Party here was no less busy in debauching the Patient, whereby the noxious Humours were increased and inflamed to such a Degree that the threatening Consequences could not probably have been prevented any other Way, but by the entire Change of Constitution, which was effected by the Union of the two Kingdoms under the same Laws as well as the same Crown.

The Scottish Parliament (if that Assembly which met by the Prince of *Orange's* Summons, and

and contrary to their Laws and Claim of Right continued all his Reign, could be intituled to that Name) was convened in the Month of *June* after his Decease: The Duke of *Queensbury*, representing her Majesty's Person, a Copy not much resembling the bright Original, her Majesty had so much Regard to what was established even by Form of Law, that both in her Letter to this Convention, and before that, in another Letter to her Council of that Kingdom She promised to support the Government of their Church as then settled, how little soever She approv'd it in her own Opinion, and gratified them further in all they could desire; even to the Discouragement of some of her better Friends. At the Opening of this Session Duke *Hamilton* in the Name of himself and others, who were weary of this Rump Parliament, which they could not look upon as a fair Representative of the People, protested against their Meeting, in Regard that by the Laws all Parliaments did dissolve by the Death of the King or Queen, except so far as was innovated by an Act made in 1696, after the Assassination Plot, empowering the Parliament last in being at K. *W*——'s Death, to meet and act what should be needful for the Defence of the establish'd Religion, maintaining the Succession settled by the Claim of Right, and securing the Peace of the Kingdom, which Ends they thought were satisfied by her Majesty's Accession to the Throne, and were of Opinion that by the Limitations in the Act they were debarr'd from all other Parliamentary Business; for these Reasons confirm'd by the Opinion of the Faculty of Lawyers, he with 79 other Members, having entered this Protestation and taken Minutes thereof,

thereof, left the House, as not thinking any further Actings there to be warranted by Law; and afterwards sending an Address to her Majesty, in which they humbly intreated her to summon a new Parliament, her Majesty was pleased not only to reject the Address, but to signify her Displeasure against the Authors, in a Letter to the remaining Members, who were suffered to sit, and, amongst others, to pass an Act to legitimate their Meeting, and another for the Security of their Church Government.

But neither this new Act nor their other Laws for the Security of their Religion, nor these Marks of Assurance which her Majesty unask'd had freely given them of her Favour, could satisfy them or allay their pretended Fears; these Eagle-Ey'd Gentlemen, as if they all had the Benefit of what they call there the second Sight, could discern Abundance of invisible Dangers, surrounding not only their own *Kirk*, but all they called the Reform'd Churches abroad, which Title they allow only to the Followers of *Calvin* and his Apostles, and not thinking fit to trust the Queen, or rely upon Providence, they resolve to provide for their own Defence. In the first Place therefore, their provincial Synods, at their next Meeting after the Expiration of their pretended Parliament, enter into new Associations in the Nature of their old Covenants, engaging themselves to defend their pure Religion against *Popery*, *Prelacy*, *Erastianism*, *Schism*, &c. and these Associations were impos'd upon all their Clergy, which being done without the Concurrence of the Government, can be construed no otherwise, but to be intended against it, and as an Assuming the Legislative Power

Power into their own Hands : Such Proceedings can be defended by nothing but Force, and therefore their young Preachers were employ'd to go thro' the Country, and at their Evening Meetings to preach up the Doctrine of Resistance, to the Up-stirring of the People in the Work of the Lord : They boasted of their Strength, that they had Six and Twenty Thousand good Men to own their Cause and Quarrel, but tho' perhaps their disciplined Forces were not ready, their Forlorn, the Mob must begin the Attack, which they did by Rabbling the Episcopal Meetings on the 30th of *January*, and several Days afterwards, and to go thro' Stitch with their Outrages, in those Parishes where they were not strong enough, they call'd in their Fellows from the Neighbouring Parishes, and where that would not do they procured Process from the *Privy-Council* against the Ministers, and as many of the Laity as they could reach. Upon this severe Usage humble Applications were, by the Friends of the Sufferers, made to her Majesty as their only Refuge, who being thereupon graciously pleased, by a Letter to her Council there, to signify her Desire of Indulgence towards her Episcopal Subjects; it was so little regarded, that they were still more insulted. And particularly the Magistrates of *Glasco*, having received a Letter from the *Privy-Council*, ordering them to repair the Damages of those who had suffered, and to prevent the like Tumults in their District for the Future, they not only made no Reparation, but in Contempt of Authority, boldly return'd Answer, that they could not protect any Episcopal Clergyman

Clergyman or Episcopal Meetings, let them be never so well qualified as to the Government.

This was indeed plain Dealing, and look'd like throwing off the Mask; but some of them carry'd their Defiance of the Government still farther: On the 20th of *May* 1703, a Party of them, to the Number of about seven Hundred, met in Arms at a Town call'd *Cairntable*, from whence they sent a Detachment of about four-score to a Neighbouring Royal Burgh, called *Sanquahir* belonging to the Duke of *Queensberry*, where coming to the Market Cross, and having first sung the 48th and 50th Psalms, concerning God's Coming to judge the Wicked, they affix'd to the Cross a Declaration; wherein having renew'd their Covenant for the *Extirpation of Episcopacy*, and protested against any Union not founded upon that *Basis*: They formally renounce the Princess *Anne* from being their Queen or covenanted Princess (such as they would have) in Regard that she had sworn to maintain Prelacy in a Neighbouring covenanted Nation, and had given Encouragement to the same in *Scotland*, by her Letters to the Council, which they protested against as contrary to their covenanted Work of Reformation: And having spent the Remainder of the Day in singing of Psalms, praying and expounding, &c. they returned, without any Molestation or further Enquiry.

This Declaration was in like Manner, fixed to the Market-Cross at *Dumfriſe*, another Royal Burgh, and was order'd to be dispers'd thro' the Nation, in the Name of all the true Presbyterians in *Scotland*; nor was it many Months after

after, that Overtures were publickly dispersed, for numbering, arming and disciplining their sensible Men all over the Kingdom: Yet all these tumultuous and rebellious Proceedings were hush'd up here, and no more Notice taken of them, than had been of the Massacre at *Glenco*; tho' from less Seeds than these, did spring those baleful Weeds of Rebellion, which, not many Years before, had over-top'd the Cedars of our *Libanon*.

These were indeed the very Steps in which that horrid Rebellion had stalked about the Year 1639, and one or two of the preceding Years, only these latter were able to make more Haste in a beaten Road. Had any thing like this been done by the oppress'd *Episcopolians* there, or any of that Party any where else, it would have made Reports loud enough, and not have gone off thus silently, like white Powder.

Every one who now writes Man must remember the Noise we had, about that Time, of a *Scotch Jacobite* Plot, which tho' it was in it self a false Conception, and as shapeless and deform'd as a *Dutch Sooterkin*, was nursed up with wondrous Care, by a prevailing Party in the Upper House of the English Parliament, a Place where Honour, Justice and Religion, being set to the greatest Advantage, ought to shine with the greatest Lustre. When an over-flowing Party-Gall tinges a Kind of Jaundice on the Soul, and represents the Colours of Good and Ill, different from what they appear to a healthy Mind, it is a Distemper which deserves Compassion, but when a Man, contrary to his own Sense and Reason, will vouch and put off black for white, and

and white for black; the highest Titles of Honour and Reverence can't give a Sanction to such Dealing. I am sorry I must lay so heavy a Charge on any Members of so August a Body: But let the impartial World, on a Survey of some Proceedings there publish'd by their own Order, and particularly those relating to this Plot and the Affair of poor *Gregg*, judge if some within those Walls did not make Justice bow to Party Interest, and instead of aiming at a Discovery of the Truth, did not endeavour to dress up Something in its Appearance, which might be more for their Purpose.

The useful State Engine called a sham Plot, if it be not of the Invention of this Party, has been very much used and improved by them with great Success; Old *Noll* by pretended Discoveries of Plots of his own hatching, frightened those who might be carrying on real Designs against him, broke their Cabals and disconcerted their Measures: The wondrous Advantage which was made of the *Popish Plot*, when these mongrel Protestants were aiming at the Ruin of the Church and Monarchy in the Reign of *K. Charles the Second*, is yet in Memory, when by keeping the Nation employ'd in continual Alarms on that Side, they carried on their own Approaches unregarded till they were ready for a general Assault both upon the Throne and Altar: But never did this Trade of Plot-making receive so great Encouragement as in the glorious Reign of King *William*; then it was that Want and Wickedness found this a more gainful as well as a much safer Way of Dealing than picking of Pockets, or borrowing a Purse on the Highway. Of all the Pranks plaid by *Patrick Hurley*,

Murley, who lately robbed *Shovel* the Jeweller, which would make a Volume of the Irish Rogue as large as any of that Kind, it is thought none turn'd to so great an Advantage as his *Irish Plot* ; and if poor *Will. Fuller* miscarried in his, it was more by the ill Timing than the coarse Spinning of it. It has made my Blood run backwards to see a Crew of these Fellows, whose Faces ought never to have been seen but in a Pillory, crouding up the Rooms of the Royal Treasury, and gaping for the Rewards of Blood and Perjury, which turn'd to so good an Account, that tho' the Nation grew sick and surfeited by the nauseous Repetition of one Plot after another, yet there was underhand Favour enough to encourage new Adventurers ; the Use which was to have been made of a *Scots Plot* just before that Prince's Death, has been already touch'd upon ; and perhaps this might be a Scien grafted on that Stock. And tho' the auspicious Star was now set, yet with the Help of a hot Bed it appear'd for a While with a blooming Verdure, so that had there been a Grain of Truth mixt with the Soil in which it was set, it might have spread to goodly Dimensions. The Planter and Cultivator of it was one *Simon Frazer* of *Beaufort*, who had been in Arms against King *William*, for which he had obtained a Pardon, by the Intercession of that old Stager the Reverend Mr. *Carstares*. Whether any Conditions were thereto annexed I know not : But this Man having committed a vile Rape on a Lady, who was Sister to the Duke of *Athol* and Relict of his own Chief the Lord *Lovat*, was forced to fly his Country, and went or was sent into *France* about the Month of

of July 1702. Being there, he takes upon him the Title of Lord *Lovat*, and being furnished with a competent Share of Wit, a genteel Carriage and an insinuating Address, with these Advantages and pretending to a mighty Credit and Interest in Scotland, and particularly among the *Highland Clans*, he gains Admittance to the late Queen, and by her Means to Monsieur *Torcy* and the *French King* Himself, amusing them with Projects of invading *Scotland*, where he told them there were 10000 Men ready to rise, if they might be supported with 5000 from *France*, and furnish'd from thence with Arms and Money, (which without Question he was to manage to the best Advantage ;) and so far he undertook, as to set down the Names of several of the Heads of the Tribes, with the Number of Men each had appointed to raise ; all this was to be kept a mighty Secret from the Ministry of the Court of *St. Germans*, which was enough to render it suspicious ; and so privately it was carried, that none of the *Scots* except the Earl of *Perth* were admitted into it, nor was it the least communicated even to the Earl of *Midleton*, till the Negotiation was four or five Months old. But as soon as it was made known to him and others, who were acquainted with *Frazer's* Character, and understood the Affairs of that Country, they were sensible that those which he had named were not able to perform half what he had engag'd ; they knew that no considerable Men of the discourag'd Party had shewn any Inclinations to stir against the Government under which they liv'd, and this Ambassador having no Credentials but a harden'd Forehead, they could not believe any

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such sudden Alteration, so that it became even the Jest of the Women: It was not to be expected that the French King could be so bubbled as to throw away Men and Money without better Assurances. However as the politic Monarch would not too slightly reject a Project which would have been of vast Advantage to Him, by cutting out Work for Her Majesty at home, *Frazer* by his confident Affirmations drew from him 4 or 500 Pistoles, as the first Fruits of his Labours, and the Design was not so wholly laid aside but that he was sent back with a Collonel's Commission, and for better Intelligence of the Inclinations and Strength of those who were said to be their Friends there, a Frenchman was to be sent with him into *Scotland*: But the Hazard of a Discovery of such a One by the *French* Language, and the Difficulty of his making Inquiries by the Want of the *Scotch*, with the Easiness of his being impos'd on by false Persons presented under the Names of Heads of *Clans*, diverted this Thought, and one Captain *John Murray* was sent back with him for this Purpose.

This was about the End of *May* 1703. they arriv'd here in *June*, and after a short Stay, went thro' *England* into *Scotland*; when they got thither, *Frazer* alledging the Danger of his Discovery, finds a Pretence to send his Companion to *Edenburgh*, and to stay himself on the Borders to wait for an Opportunity of getting with Safety into the High-Lands, and by the Assistance of Captain *Macleod* and one *Colten Cambell*, who seems to have been his Agent and Partner, he gets Letters convey'd to the Earl of *Leven*, and the late Duke of *Argyle*,

gyle, wherein pretending to make great Discoveries of Correspondences carried on with *France*, by the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Athol* and several others of the most eminent of the Scotch Nobility, he was recommended, as it seems, to the Duke of *Queensbury*, who in great good Will to some who were to be accused, readily embraced his Proposals. Whether *Queensbury* was till then concern'd in this Management does not appear, tho' it is vilely suspicious he was no Stranger to it; for before *Frazer* left *England* he express'd himself secure of Protection from some of the Chief in the Government there, which was made good in a Prosecution that was moved against him for the Rape, from which he was protected; and tho' it was thought convenient not to give him a Pardon, but to keep him under the Paw of the Lion to secure his Fidelity, yet they fed him not only with fair Words, but Money, of which several Sums he got there, particularly 200 *l.* at once from the Duke last named.

To give some Weight to this feigned Discovery, which was so light and vain in it Self, it was so contriv'd that a Letter was sent to Mr. *Stanhope*, her Majesty's Envoy at the *Hague*, dated from *Amsterdam* 15th of *July*, but by the Price of Postage, supposed to be sent from some Place nearer hand, pretending great Remittances of Money to *Scotland* and *Ireland* (bulky enough to have been easily traced if true) to Duke *Hamilton* no less than 50000 Pistoles, to Sir *Robert Hamilton* 25000, to *Wm. Worth Esq;* 25000, all which Money was pretended to have pass'd thro' the Writer's Hands; of which strange Story, whatever *Stanhope* thought of it himself, it was his Duty to give Notice to the Secretary's Office.

To tally with this Story, there was about the same Time another of a hunting Match intended to be the 2d of *August*, where Duke *Hamilton* and several other great Men were to be present, and the Lord of *Grant* was to have 600 of his own Men in Arms, all in one Livery, besides which there were Gibberish Letters laid so as to be intercepted, supposed to be written from *France* to Lord 3 Lord 7 and *Philothès*, by which were to be understood 3 great *Scotish* Noblemen. Another Letter was put by *Frazer* into the Duke of *Queensbury*'s Hands, which was pretended to be written from Queen *Mary* to the Duke of *Athol*, then Lord *Murray*, and another yet, he told *Queensbury* he had with his own Hand deliver'd to the Duke of *Gordon*, tho' to his Friend *Macleod*, he own'd the Duke would not see him. *Frazer* used all Means possible to be reconcil'd to the Duke of *Athol*, in order to draw him into a Correspondence, but all in vain; and with no better Success Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl *Marshall*, Earl of *Erroll*, Earl of *Cromarty*, Earl of *Seafeld* and others, to whom *Frazer* did not dare to shew his Face, any more than to the Duke of *Athol*, were by various, hidden, oblique Methods, founded by Instruments of *John Murray*, who found that instead of being Friends to the Affair he came about, as they had been represented, they prov'd most averse to it; so that *Murray* seeing so little Hopes, took the Benefit of the Scots Indemnity, the other took a Ramble into the Highlands, to try who he could draw in, for if he could but raise any Sort of Rebellion in *Scotland*, he said, his Fortune would be made for ever; but, except by some
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idle inconsiderable Fellows, he was as much avoided there; and from thence he comes back to *London*, to meet his Patron *Queensbury*, as had been agreed between them, but not so well provided with Materials for their Purpose as might have been wish'd. All this While *Frazer* seems to have shewn a very dextrous Address in playing a double Part, to *Murray* and his Nephew *Keith* and others he pretended himself a firm *Jacobite*, and that to facilitate his Service of that Interest, he amused *Queensbury* &c. But *Colleen Campbell*, and I think *Macleod* were admitted behind the Scenes of his Farce. However these sham Tales and Letters not being supported by the least Proof of a Correspondence, the least concurrent Testimony or corroborating Circumstance, had been little taken Notice of by the Ministry here; nor could *Queensbury* prevail with his great Friend, as *Frazer* calls him, (whom I take to be the Earl of *Godolphin*) to believe any thing of the Matter. *Frazer* now finding his Market was over, and fearing to be involv'd in his own Net, could not but wish himself once more at Liberty; therefore still insisting on the Reality of the Correspondence which he pretended was carried on with *France*, he offered to go back thither, to make further Discoveries, where he would do great Service for the Government, by finding out the Returns, which he pretended were to be made to the Messages from hence, giving Hopes he might be Master of the original Papers, and then forsooth he would return and make such Discoveries, and do such great Things as should deserve a Pardon from her Majesty, and a good Substance to boot.

unwilling to drop so useful a Project, or lose so usefull a Servant, gets a Pass from the Earl of *Nottingham*, about the 13th of *November*, for *Frazer* and three others under counterfeit Names, and furnishing him with Money, and settling a Correspondence with him, sent him into *Holland* in order to go from thence to *France*.

But in *Frazer's* short Stay in *London* he had been doing all he could to lick his Plot into Form, and knowing *Ferguson's* great Inclination to fish in those Waters, he gets into his Acquaintance; but that old Fox soon smelt the stinking Bottom of his new Correspondent, instead of the others being able to make any Discovery from him, and instead of a Plot against the Government, he found there was a Conspiracy on the Wheel against some of her Majesty's best Subjects, which was, as he said, to be sent hither in a Cloak-Bag, like the Holy Ghost to the Council of *Trent*, and being willing to get a more perfect Insight into it, he continues the Correspondence into *Holland*, to find out by what Conveyance, Letters were sent to and from *Frazer*; after which, thinking himself sufficiently Master of the Design, he by a Friend acquainted the Duke of *Athol* with the whole Matter, beseeching him to lay it before the Queen, and also to communicate it to such of the Ministry as he should think fit, and particularly to the Earl of *Nottingham*, which was done accordingly.

This was so extraordinary a Proof of the Guilt of these dangerous Conspirators, that whether after this Discovery it might not have been thought most advantagious for the Publick

lick Quiet to have temper'd the Warmth of those who thought themselves injured, and still have kept these Matters from a publick Examination, I will not pretend to conjecture: But tho' the Plot was thus midwifed into the World before its Time, and had no Signs of Health or Life, yet great Care was taken to raise it; and as the Design of it was to ruin those who were aim'd at, at least in her Majesty's Trust and Favour, so they thought by charging those for whom they had as much Kindness here, with Remissness in the Examinations of this dangerous Conspiracy, to lessen their Credit both with the Queen and People. It happen'd that several Persons, weary of living in *France* and willing to submit to the Daughter of their injured Sovereign, after the Death of him and his Invader, were return'd from their Exile, some with a Reliance on the *Scotch* Indemnity, and those who were not included in that, were in Hopes of making their Peace on Surrender and Submission. Some of these were stop'd and secured in *Suffex*, and among them Sir *John Maclean* and his Family, who surrendred themselves to the Mayor of *Folkstone*, and were sent up in Custody; besides whom *David Lindsay* Secretary to Lord *Middleton*, Major *Boucher* Aid de Camp to the Duke of *Berwick*, one Mrs. *Fox*, a Woman of Intrigue at the *St. Germain's* Court, and several others, fell into the Hands of the Government about the same Time. There could not probably have been any Commerce carried on between *Scotland* and *Paris* or *St. Germain's*, of which all these could be wholly ignorant, and the Dangerousness of their Condition, their Lives lying at the

Mercy of the Law, was Argument enough to perswade them to discover all they knew, and perhaps as some hoped a great deal more. The Examination of these Persons therefore must not be left to her Majesty and her Ministers, but the 15th of Dec. 1703, Sir John Maclean was ordered to be brought before the House of Lords the next day, and no Person to be suffered to speak with him in the mean time. He was accordingly brought, but the Lord Steward, by her Majesty's Command, acquainting the House, that *the Matter was of that Nicety and Importance that Her Majesty thought it would be inconvenient to alter the Method of his Examination*, he was sent back, and the 17th her Majesty acquainted both Houses that She had receiv'd Information of ill Designs carried on in Scotland, by Emissaries from France, the Particulars whereof should be laid before them as soon as the Examinations could be perfected and made publick without Prejudice ; and thus, after Addresses on this Communication, the Matter lay till the 29th of January, when Part of the Papers were laid before the Lords, with which they were not content, but from this Time engross'd the whole Management of it to themselves, in such a Manner as was resented by the Commons as a great Violation of her Majesty's Prerogative, and a dangerous Alteration of the Course of publick Justice.

The Apprehension of these Persons who came from France, as it must have brought this dark Conspiracy to a Noon-day Light, if any such Thing had been really in Hand, so on the Contrary it has left an undeniable Proof of the Innocence of those who were to be accused ; all their Examinations,

nations, which were strict enough, not affording the least Token or Pretence of any such criminal Commerce, but much the contrary; they all indeed confirm the Account of *Frazer's* Dealing there, but Sir *John Maclean* (with the Ingenuity of whose Confession the Lords themselves were well satisfied) acknowledges that he was desired by the late Queen, to sound the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Arhol* and others, which were needless if their Minds had been known before, and also discovers that tho' several others had been sent on the same Errand, that Queen, who seems to have given too much Credit to *Frazer*, complain'd that She could have no Answer particularly that Duke *Hamilton* had always carefully avoided the Conversation of those who came from thence. And tho' *Boucher* and *Lindsay* were try'd for their Lives and condemned, which might have the Effect of the Rack in extorting Confessions, yet as they knew no more than they had already discovered, they scorn'd to redeem their Lives at the Expence of their Consciences, and had at last by her Majesty's Clemency, the Happiness of preserving both.

Thro' all the Dust that was raised in the Examination of this Affair, the Figure in which I have represented it, is clearly discernable: However it was convenient for some good Purposes that it should be a Plot, and a dangerous Plot it was voted, and so it was indeed in one Sence, against the Honour, Estates, Liberties, and Lives of some of the best of her Majesty's Subjects, and more remotely against the whole Church Party in both Kingdoms, who were all to be blacken'd with the same Inclinations, if
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not the same Practices ; and those who read over *Ferguson's* two Papers, printed in those Proceedings, will not find it difficult to guess why he was committed to Newgate and ordered to be prosecuted for treasonable Practices.

But the following Incident will shew further, how fond some People were of cooking up this Hotch Potch to make it palatable and fit to be swallow'd. The 22d of *December* (just a Week after the House of Lords first laid hold of it) one *David Baillie* wrote a Letter to Duke *Hamilton*, to the following Effect : That during the last Session of the *Scottish* Parliament, which ended the 16th of *September*, the Duke of *Queensbury*, then her Majesty's Commissioner, sent for him, and after Professions of Kindness, said, he had it from good Hands, that Designs were carried on, in the three Nations to restore the Prince of *Wales*, which he alledged Mr. *Baillie* knew, and therefore intreated him to declare the whole Matter ; upon which *Baillie* urged his Innocence, and offered to withdraw, but the Duke calling him back bid him consider what he did, and not reject his offered Friendship. That after a few Days, the Duke sent for him again, by Mr. *Stuart* his Secretary, who having left the Room, the Duke went to his Cabinet, telling *Baillie* he would shew him a Rarity ; but after searching some Drawers, seem'd to be in a Surprise, and said he had left what he look'd for with his Wife, which he had forgot. Then the Duke call'd for a Servant, sat down, and would needs have *Baillie* sit down by him ; he told him he had a Mind to shew him three Letters,

ters, that were carried by Mistake to a wrong Man, and that no Doubt the Contents were dangerous.

Just as the Duke had said so, his *Valet de Chambre* came in and whisper'd him, and then the Duke told *Baillie*, that the Dutcheſs had let the President of the Session have the Letters. But that doubtless *Baillie* knew what was in them and much more, which *Baillie* denying, the Duke reply'd, smiling, *Then you know nothing of Lord Numb. 3. Numb. 7. or Philothes: Baillie* said, *he did not*. The Duke answer'd, *then you dont know Duke Hamilton, Duke Athol, the*
 * *Chancellor, Lord Drummond, Belhaven,* * *Earl of Seafeld.*
 † *Tarbat, nor Blantire, you will say nothing to me,* † *Cromarty.*
but you see I know who are Pensioners to France and who not. I know the Duke of Athol and your Convert the Chancellor are among the first now, tho' they have not been so long as your great Duke Hamilton, Lord Marshal and Belhaven. I know Duke Hamilton has been so these many Years. *Baillie* asserted, he knew nothing of that, and believ'd 'em to be the best Men in the Nation; at which the Duke cry'd out mightily, and fell into railing Accusations against Duke *Hamilton*: After this the Duke of Q— offer'd *Baillie* great Preferments and Rewards if he would tell the Queen that Duke *Hamilton*, and the other Lords were Pensioners to *France*, and had a publick Bank, and Managers to buy Arms and other warlike Stores: That if *Baillie* would undertake this, the Duke would shew him a List of those he would have brought into the Plot, and would swear to let no Person know but it was a real one, and say that *Baillie* had first discover'd it, and that he had sent him to the
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Queen : That *Baillie* rejecting the Proposal with Abhorrence, The Duke having fail'd in his Attempt, employ'd the Marquis of *Annandale* on the same Design, who the Day before he went for *London*, sent for *Baillie*, and told him he would not part with him till he went with him (the Marquis) to let the Queen know how well she was served by the Duke of *Athol*, who he knew had been with Duke *Hamilton* at *Baillie's* Chamber in Womens Cloths, with the Lords abovenam'd and others, where they treated of bringiug home the Prince of *Wales*. *Baillie* denying any such Meeting, the Marquis said they would understand one another better when they came on English Ground, and that *Baillie* must not only own the Meeting, but swear, which would make him for Ever, and that he might be an Officer of State before he left *London* : That *Baillie* absolutely refusing this, the Marquis fell into a great Passion, and swore he would be revenged ; and finding that did not prevail, coax'd him again, but still without Success.

Baillie said he should have taken no Notice of this Usage, tho' nothing could be more provoking, had it not been for the Noise of the Plot, which fill'd him with Apprehensions of those Dangers into which the Duke of *Athol* and others were fallen, which perhaps might in some Measure have been prevented if he had given earlier Notice : It was no difficult Matter for Men so powerful as *Queensbury* and *Annandale*, to crush such a Man as *Baillie*, to let him in the Pillory, and call the Writing of a private Letter of Information, the Publishing of a scandalous Libel ; but in another Letter
to

to Lord *Eglinton*, when he was under close Confinement, he adhered to the Truth of what he had written; and afterwards, when the ruinous Condition of his Affairs had disorder'd his Reason, and he had committed a very unfortunate and unnatural Murder on his own Brother, for which he was condemned by the Law, all the Hopes and Promises which could be made to him, set forth with all the Art and Eloquence of a huge dignified Levite of that Nation, employed at the most advantageous Moments which could be chosen, in an assiduous Attendance on a Man in that Condition, could not prevail with him to recede the least Tittle from it; nor do I find that the Truth of it stands any Way impeached, or indeed, either how *Baillie* could any Way but this come to the Knowledge of the Gibberish Letters, which were not so much as laid before the House of Lords till almost two Months after this Notice; or upon what other Account *Queensbury* would have communicated them to a Stranger as *Baillie* then was.

Tho' I have drawn out this Subject to a disproportionate Length, I hope the Reader will not think my Time or his own Mispent: I flatter my self that I have clear'd the Truth from the Rubbish in which it lay obscured and set it in such a Light as vindicates the Honour of those, at which this wicked Design was levell'd, and exposes the Baseness and Malice of their Enemies; and this Piece of Justice I thought chiefly due to the Memory of that Noble Person whose Honour and Life were thus basely attempted so long before he fell a Victim to their implacable Rage.

But

But tho' they came short of their Aim in this Plot, yet it was not without it's Advantage, they had made it so intricate, that it was not worth the Labour of unravelling, and People thought there could not be so much Smoke without some Fire: A positive Vote, the Prosecution of an old Plotter, and of Persons lately come from *France*, must make it current with some People, and it was not Safe for those who did not believe it to declare their Sentiments, for fear of being thought Disaffected.

That which gave it still a better Varnish was the Opinion of the Lords, declared in an Address at the Close of this Affair, That nothing had given so much Encouragement to Her Majesty's Enemies both at Home and Abroad, to enter into this detestable Conspiracy, as that after Her Majesty and the Heirs of Her Body, the immediate Succession to the Crown of *Scotland* was not declared to be in the Princess *Sophia*, and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants. And at last, *they assure Her Majesty that when her wife Endeavours for Settling the Succession in Scotland shall have taken the desired Effect, they would do all in their Power to promote an entire and compleat Union between the two Kingdoms for their mutual Security and Advantage.*

The Settlement of the Succession of the Crown in a Protestant Line, was intended as a Shield to defend the Protestant Religion, and the Rights and Liberties of these Nations; but by that Party it has been only used as a Javelin to throw in the Teeth of their Enemies, and after the Conflict is over, it has been hung by to rust, as much neglected, as the useless Arms over the Hall Chimney in an old Country House.

I am indebted by Promise, to give some Account of their Carriage towards that Family; and shall take this Opportunity of laying together what I have to say on that Head, tho' I break in upon the *Series* of Time, which I shall at present dispenſe with.

'Tis to be hop'd, that at the Time of this Address, very few in that House were acquainted with the Obstacles which were to be laid in the Way of that desir'd Settlement, which was left to Her Majesty's own Endeavours, to struggle thro' against all the Difficulties and Oppositions it was to meet with, and no Promise made of promoting the Union, till that had taken the desired Effect: But I am afraid this desired Effect was understood in different Senses, it being very notorious, that by the Management of the Duke of *Queensbury* and his Party, this Limitation of the Crown of *Scotland*, tho' earnestly press'd and recommended by Her Majesty, was postpon'd and baffl'd, and all such Measures taken as might render it desperate.

In the Convention Parliament, the Succession had not been mention'd, being perhaps taken to be included in the Union, which was then propos'd; and in the Session of the new Parliament in 1703, when the Earl of *Marchmont* had form'd a strong Party for settling the Protestant Succession, on Promise of the Duke of *Queensbury's* Concurrence. The Duke by discovering the Concert, defeated the Design, and the Draught of an Act for that Purpose was scandalously treated and thrown out for want of the Concurrence of him and his Friends.

On the contrary, in that Session, an Act was suffer'd pass *Ahent Peace and War*; by which,
after

after the Decease of Her Majesty, and failing Heirs of Her Body, no Person being King or Queen of *Scotland* and *England* was to have Power to engage the Scots in any War without the Consent of their own Parliament ; and no Declaration of War without such Consent, was to be binding on the Subjects of that Kingdom.

The Design of this Act was, (many Weeks before it received the Royal Assent,) declared to have been to free them from the Prerogative (as it was call'd) of the English Ministers, and from their Dependance on the Court of *England*, of which there being given such plain and early Notice, the Act could not pass by Surprise ; but it seems rather that some then in Power were more desirous to imbroil the Nations than to have them settled under one and the same Protestant Allegiance.

This was justly look'd upon here as an Act of the greatest Danger to *England*, insomuch, that a Gentleman of the Long Robe declared in the House of Commons, That if any Englishman had given his Advice or Consent to that Act, he was guilty of little Less than Treason ; and some of our Ministers here thought fit to clear themselves of it in the House of Lords ; but the Design will still appear more plain, if we consider, that in the same Session an Act was pass'd allowing the Importation of French Wines and Brandies, tho' Duke *Hamilton* and the Party, call'd the *Squadron*, protested against it as Dishonourable to Her Majesty, inconsistent with the Grand Alliance, and prejudicial to the Honour, Safety, Interest and Trade of the Kingdom ; and tho' an Equivalent, was offer'd if the Courtiers would but drop the Bill.

But

But to shew that those who dealt thus with the Succession had then as little Inclination to the Union, or any Thing indeed which tended to close the gaping Differences between the Nations, a Resolve was suffer'd to pass to make void the Commission for treating of an Union with *England*, and discharging any other Commission for that End without the Consent of the Scottish Parliament.

This had been the Management of the Affair on which so much Weight was laid by the House of Lords, and this was the Posture of it at that Time; after which, in the next Session, which was in the Summer of the Year 1704. it was recommended in Her Majesty's Letter with all possible Earnestness, *as absolutely necessary for the Quiet and Security of all Her Dominions, for the Reputation of Affairs abroad, and consequently for strengthening the Protestant Interest in general; that the delaying of it might have dangerous Consequences, and the Disappointment of it would infallibly make that Kingdom a Seat of War, and expose it to Devastation and Ruin; and the better to induce the Parliament to comply with this Desire, Her Majesty added, That She had empower'd Her Commissioner to give the Royal Assent to what could in Reason be demanded for securing the Sovereignty and Liberties of that Her Ancient Kingdom.*

Tweedale, then Her Majesty's Commissioner, and the *Earl of Seafeld* Lord Chancellor, in their Speeches, recommended the Succession with the same Warmth, and there having been Advantage taken from the late Conduct of those who were supposed to have been sufficiently acquainted with Her Majesty's Inclination

tion, the Earl of *Cromarty* thought himself obliged as her Secretary, to obviate and remove an Asperſion that the Queen had in that Affair a ſecret Will contrary to that which was expreſs'd in her Letter, telling the Parliament, *That he was very certain of the Contrary, becauſe Her Maſteſty had commanded him, and Her other Servants, expreſſy to aſſure that Houſe, that Nothing in Her Service could pleaſe Her better, than to believe and obey Her in what was propos'd in Her Letter, and Nothing could diſpleaſe Her more than to do otherwiſe.*

Yet notwithstanding all this, when the Succeſſion came to be propos'd, it was Weather-bound, by a Reſolve for putting it off, till the the Scots had a previous Treaty with *England* in Relation to Commerce, &c. and tho' Her Maſteſty had ſo earneſtly preſs'd Her Servants to promote the Succeſſion, it was obſerved that two Officers of State, a Commiſſioner of the Treasury, many of the Council and Exchequer, with ſeveral military Officers, Farmers and Collectors of the Revenue, and Penſioners who had ſcarce any Bread to eat but what they received from Her Maſteſty, not only fell in with this Reſolve, but ſolicited others to do the like; it was alſo obſerv'd that ſome of thoſe who appeared againſt the Succeſſion had newly got into Employments, and others had receiv'd Penſions by the Means of the Duke of *Queensbury*, and could not conceal their Hopes of further Preferments and Gratifications for defeating the Succeſſion in the Hands of the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, upon which they aſſured themſelves the Duke would be reſtored, as he afterwards was; and this made all thoſe who had

had any Expectations from him, join their Forces against it. They also boasted of Assurances from *London* of great Concessions which might be obtain'd in Favour of *Scotland*, in Case the Matter were refer'd to a Treaty; and these Assurances from their good Friends here, gave the finishing Blow at once to the Succession for that Time.

Those who were able in this Manner to baffle the Succession, might as well, if they had been so inclin'd, have hindered the Passing the *Scotish Act of Security*. It seems it was not enough that the *Scots* had obtain'd an Act to have the Power of Peace and War in their own Disposal, but to back it they must have another to arm and discipline their Men; which to a People so much provoked in the Affair of their *African Company* and *Darien Colony*, and so full of Complaints of Hardships, which they pretended had been put upon them by the English ever since the Union of the two Crowns, was the ready Way, by thus putting the Sword in their Hands, to invite them to turn it upon us, whenever they had Opportunity or Encouragement, which they would not have wanted, and they would easily have found a Pretence of Quarrel on the Score of Trade or Religion.

Before the Passing of this Act, the House of *Hanover* being the next Protestant Heirs, had a Right to the Crown by the Prior Laws of that Kingdom, whereby Papists were disabled to govern: But here it was provided, that it should not descend to the same Successor with that of *England*, unless that DURING HER MAJESTY'S REIGN such Conditions of Go-

vernment should be settled and enacted as might secure the Honour and Sovereignty of that Kingdom, the Freedom, Frequency and Power of Parliaments, and the Religion, Liberty and Trade of the Nation from English or any Foreign Influence.

This was in Effect, as my Lord *Haversham* call'd it, a Bill of Exclusion against the House of *Hanover*, and as the Lives of Princes are not more certain than those of meaner Persons, had it pleased God to punish these Nations, by calling her Majesty from an ungrateful People, before Care could be taken against the dangerous Consequences of this Act, what Mischiefs were not to be apprehended from a People irritated and arm'd, and who we may be sure would have been push'd forward and assisted by our Enemies at Home and Abroad.

These Acts were so much of a higher Nature, that their Law made this Session for exporting Wool is hardly worth taking Notice of, tho' very prejudicial to *England*; for under Pretence of exporting their own Wool, a great deal of the Growth of *England* was stole over the Borders and Ship'd away with it, whereby the English Laws were eluded, and the *French* assisted in improving the Manufactures of that Commodity to a Degree that is now loudly complain'd of.

The next Year *Queensbury* comes in Play again; but before he went down and before the Parliament met, there were several Consults of some of the Ministers, what Measures were to be pursued, some were for promoting the Succession, but *Queensbury's* Party could not make so short a Turn. However they delay'd
their

their open Proceedings against it, till they had certain Advice, that he was set out from *London*, and that all his Friends were come to *Edinburgh*; then, about the 17th of *July*, it was again postponed, by two Resolves of previous Treaties, which were carried by that Party; tho' to cover the Duke, it was done before he arrived at *Edinburgh*.

All these Defeats Her Majesty met with in Her Endeavours to settle the *Hanover Succession* in that Kingdom; I will not say that it was only by the Whigs, or that none of the Whigs were heartily for it, some opposed it out of Principle, and perhaps the Episcopal Men were on Purpose irritated by refusing them a Toleration, which might have brought them in; others were willing to delay it, as they thought the Interest of their Country concern'd in a previous Establishment of their Commerce: But this I may affirm, that the leading *Whigs*, who acted in the closest Concert with the Party here, were those who hinder'd it; for without them the others could have made no Stand against it, and that some of them had a Common-wealth Government in their Heads, when so many of the Heirs to the Crown, as well Protestants as Papists, were excluded and incapacitated, I think there is no Reason to question. By their Act of Security they were at Liberty to chuse what Governor or Form of Government they liked; it was thereby made high Treason to proclaim or declare any Successor without the Consent of the States, who were to have met within twenty Days after her Majesty's Death, so that the Administration would naturally have fallen into their

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Hands,

Hands, and if they could have agreed among themselves, they might have kept it, and disposed of the civil and military Offices, have debated of Peace and War, raised Money and done all other Acts of Government with as much Sovereignty and Independance as any Monarch or State in Christendom, and being thus possess'd of the Power, might probably have liked it so well, as not to have parted with it hastily, unless forced by absolute Necessity to surrender.

We have seen the Affections of those Northern Protestants to a Protestant Succession, in which, to do them Justice, I believe they liked none better, and that the Party in both Kingdoms were agreed in those Sentiments. The Zeal and Affection to the *Hanover* Family, of which our English Whigs have always made so great Pretences, was soon after this brought to the Test and found to be counterfeit, they had made Use of these Steps taken in *Scotland* to mount themselves into the Saddle here, so that having the Reins of both Kingdoms in their Hands, the Church Party knowing their Nature and dreading their Power, especially considering the threatening Aspect of the Affairs of *Scotland*, thought that the best Way to secure the Succession of the Monarchy and the Peace of the Kingdoms, and to prevent those Confusions which were likely to ensue in Case of any sudden Alteration, was to have the next Heir sent for, who being in a Readiness here, might the easier attain a quiet Possession, and whose Presence in the mean Time might be a Curb to any Proceedings which might tend to obstruct it. But those who had before press'd the same Thing to
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foment Mischief and Division, when the Prospect of that Succession was more remote, and the immediate Heir present, and who since have done the Elector the Honour to tag a Ballad with him, in a second Part of their *Liliburlero* to the same Tune, and publish'd with the same Intention, rejected the Proposal, as ridiculous, incongruous and contrary to the general Good, which perhaps was another Word for common Weal, and their Scribe *De Foe* appeared more zealous against it than *Lesly*; nay so far they carried their Opposition to it, tho' very much listen'd to by the *Hanover* Court, that Sir *Rowland Gwyn*'s expostulating Letter to the Earl of *Stamford*, which press'd the Invitation, and charg'd his Friends with Change of Principles, was voted a seditious Libel, one who undertook the Vindication of that Letter, was prosecuted for the Attempt. And Sir *Rowland* himself, when the Lord *Hallifax* was sent to *Hanover*, tho' a staunch Whig, was obliged to retire from that Court, and remain at *Hamburgh* for that Time, so little did they regard either Friend or Foe that stood in their Way. But this which mov'd their Anger now, was afterwards, when they thought themselves more easy and better settled, made the Subject of their Drollery; when Her Majesty having lost Her greatest earthly Support by the Death of Her Royal Consort, the same Motion being made again, it was banter'd off, and the Jest carried up to the Height of a fleering Address to Her Majesty, pretending to advise Her to a second Marriage, even within the Time which the most amorous Widows are content to allow to the Laws of Decency; and thus at first there were Complements made to

the Electoral Family of a Garter and Naturalization, to atone for the Repulse they had met with : But afterwards so little Respect was shewn to that Court, that it was not thought worth while to have any publick Minister there, for about three Years together, during the Reign of that Party.

The Succession coming upon all Turns so hot out of the Mouths of those whose Affection in their Hearts is so cold to the Monarchy it self, how could more Sincerity be expected from them.

We shall find upon Examination, all the rest of their Pretences, which they would palm upon the World, to be made of the same Stuff, as in several Instances I have already taken Notice, and in others shall have Occasion further to prove : But to observe something of Order in the Succession of Time, I must go back to take up the Line where I dropt it. Tho' the Success of the *Scotish* Plot had not come up to the Expectations of the Party, nor answered all the Ends proposed in it, yet some Advantages they had by it ; first, as it was lumped in the general Notion of a Plot, it cast a Shade on the Innocence of all who were named in it, none being cleared, all were constructively accused, and were all laid under a Suspicion that none of them might be trusted ; and secondly, as it was made a Bone of Contention to increase the Differences which were industriously fomented between the two Houses of Parliament. The Majority in each House were then of very differing Tempers, and great Disagreements had been raised between them ; the Occasional Conformity Bill had twice passed the Commons, and had been as often thrown out by the Lords in a

Manner not over Complaisant ; the Commons thought that in the Matter just mentioned, the Lords by taking the Examination out of its proper Course had invaded the Prerogative ; and as to their own Privileges, the Bishop of *Worcester's* undue stickling against the Election of *Sir John Packington* had been warmly resented by the Commons in their first Session, and the Bishop as briskly supported by the Lords : And now the Writ of Error brought upon a Judgment in the *Queen's-Bench* by *Ashby* against the Constables of *Aylesbury*, for not receiving his Vote at an Election of Members, for that Town, had occasioned very smart Altercations between the 2 Houses ; so that in the Heat of the Disputes on these and other Affairs, several Counter-Applications had been made to the Throne, and Appeals publish'd to the People against each other ; which Divisions were maliciously inflamed by one Party, and heartily lamented by the other, as appears by one of the Addresses from the Lower House, which concluded as followeth.

May it please Your Majesty,

I*T is with the deepest Concern, and a Grief not to be expressed, that your Dutiful and Loyal Commons, have found themselves engaged in Disputes of this Nature, by which they have been so unseasonably interrupted in finishing the Supplies and others Matters of the highest Importance. How zealously they have applied themselves to the Discharge of their Duty appears from their having already presented Your Majesty with the greatest Part of their Aids, with a Dispatch and Unanimity beyond Example : Nor could the few Bills yet de-*

depending have met the least Objection or Delay, but from the indispensable Necessity of vindicating Your Majesties Royal Prerogative, the Privileges of our own House, and the Rights and Liberties of all the Commons of England, in several Instances invaded almost at the same Time. We wish there may have been more of Mistake than Design in those who have created these unhappy Differences: However, we desire the Remembrance may be henceforth blotted out, and that there may remain no other Impression in the Hearts both of Lords and Commons, than a sincere and passionate Concern for Your Majesties Welfare and Glory; nor any other Contention hereafter arise, but by whom the public Good shall be best advanced, the Protestant Succession and the Church of England best secured, and the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown best supported.

This was the Sense, and these were the Crimes of this High-flying House of Commons, and ever was and will be, whenever the Church-Party has the Majority there. If therefore, upon some Occasions they seem to have been over-heated, and to have exceeded the Bounds of their usual Temper, it should be imputed to the Provocations they met with; the gentlest Streams will swell by Opposition, and Collision will strike Fire out of the coldest and most solid Bodies.

However, they made their Resentments give Way to the Public Good, and applying themselves to the necessary Affairs of the Kingdom, yielded to the Lords the un-envied Honour of the last Word; and thus once more defeated the wicked Designs of those, who by Sowing these Seeds of Division, expected a full Harvest
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of Sedition, who by entangling the Queen in these Contests, thought to lay Her under such Difficulties as might oblige Her to Purchase Her Ease at their Price, and hoped to be paid as Scavengers, for removing the Dirt and Rubbish which themselves had thrown in the Way of the Government.

Nothing else could Occasion their pretended Discontents and groundless Clamours, either within or without Doors; the public Affairs were never carried on with more Honour and Success. The Parliament had made good the Deficiencies of the last Reign, and sufficiently provided for the growing Exigencies which gave new Life to the public Credit; the Revenues were managed with Care and Frugality, and the Payments made with Exactness and Punctuality; with which Proofs of Justice the Malecontents themselves were inwardly so well satisfied, that tho' Interest on the short Funds was reduced to Five *per Cent.* they poured their Money into the *Exchequer* with as much Eagerness as their Complaints out to the People.

The War was pursued with great Advantage, and our Credit was restored Abroad as well as at Home: The Enemy in the first Campaign, notwithstanding their early Preparations, lost *Venlo*, *Ruremonde*, and *Liege*, which open'd the Navigation of the *Maese*, and drove them out of the Spanish *Guelderland*; and in *Spain*, our Success at *Vigo* made amends for the Disappointment at *Cales*.

The next Year, the taking of *Bonne*, *Huy*, and *Limburgh* extended the Quarters of the Allies; but because the French avoided a Battle by sculking behind their Lines, tho' if the
Dutch

Dutch Safety had not been too much consulted, perhaps, their Entrenchments might not have shelter'd them ; yet the Duke of *Marlborough* was as loudly bellow'd at then, as the Duke of *Ormond* was lately for not Fighting against his Orders. The Inscription, *Sine Clade Victor* on the Medal struck in his Honour, was ridiculed, and *Tutchin*, who perhaps might be duly qualified to attend the Provost, thought himself a better General, and undertook in Print, That if Her Majesty would trust him with the Command of Her Army, he desired but One thousand Pounds for his Equipage and Salary, and he would bring the French to a Battle on Forfeiture of his Life.

Sir *George Rook*, instead of Thanks from one of the Houses for taking and destroying the French Fleet at *Vigo*, was to be Content if he escaped Censure for not taking *Cales*, on which Enterprize, because one of King *William's* Projects, great Expectations had been raised ; but it appear'd, that the Orders had been strictly pursued, and the Miscarriage was owing to a Defect common to all that Prince's great Designs, for the Enemy being acquainted with it almost as soon as it was concerted, were too well prepared for our Reception.

Both the Captain-General and the Admiral had then the Misfortune to be ranked with those who were called High-Churchmen, and that was Crime black enough to obscure the Glory of all their Actions : The stupendous March into *Germany*, and the ever-memorable Fields of *Schellenberg* and *Hochstet* in the Year 1704. did indeed please the *Observer* with a fighting Story, and for a while Tongue-tied the Duke's Enemies : But the next Year they jestod
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at his passing the Ditch, (as they called the French Lines) condemned him for not following his Blow, and for not Fighting the *French* afterwards at *Over-Iſche*, tho' he was over-ruled by the States Deputies: And when he lay open to none of those Objections which have since been made against him, the Reverend Mr. *Stephens* charged him with Designs of Selling a Peace to *France*, and prophetically bewail'd our Condition, That since the Expectations of Gain, which some Persons entertain'd in that Way, were disappointed by the Clamours then made against Peace, the next Thing was to take such Measures as might continue the War as long as possible, as being the remaining Project to enrich Particulars at the Expence of the Public; (which it seems already groan'd for want of Money and Trade) That laying the Stress of the War in *Flanders*, where if the Dutch and we should happen to take a Town in a Campaign, it was but a Grain out of a Handful of Corn, served only to afford us the Prospect of a never-ending War; That the chief Business of his Negotiations was to collect his Presents at the German Courts, concluding with this Remark, as the Sense of the Party, That it was absurd to expect any Good from the Root of all Evil: And this was when his Military Virtues were as Conspicuous as ever they have been since, and the Effects of his Avarice and Ambition not so palpably felt; yet *England* was not then compared either to *Greece* or *Rome* for her Ingratitude to so deserving a General.

In the same Year 1704. Sir *George Rook*, with a Crew of Cabin-Boys, took the almost impregnable Fortrefs of *Gibraltar*; so that at the same time, British Trophies were erected Eastward as far

far as the Banks of the *Danube*, and her Flags were seen waving on the Towers of the most Western Part of *Europe*, where *Hercules* fixed his *Ne plus ultra*: After this, under great Disadvantages both in the Number, Rates, and Condition of his Ships, and above all in the want of Ammunition, he so far convinced the *French*, how unequal a Match they were for us on the watry Element, that they never after ventured to Equip another Royal Navy, yet how were his Services undervalued by the Faction here. *Gibraltar*, which was able to defy the Power of *Spain*, and to baffle and waste their Army in a fruitless Siege, and which is like to continue to future Ages an Honour to our Arms, and a Safeguard to our Commerce, was a Place of no Strength or Value, and the Engagement at Sea was celebrated with Lampons instead of Congratulations. Neither his Actions in this War, nor in the last, his Conduct in saving our *Turkey* Fleet, or his Courage in destroying the French Ships at *La Hogue*, could prevail with them to allow him any Share of Skill or Bravery; so that he is to wait for Justice from impartial Posterity, not only in these Qualities, but one much more rare in this Age, which he shew'd in refusing to ask a Privy-Seal for a Sum of Money remaining in his Hands, of what had been remitted to him; as he had not wasted it in monstrous Bowls of Punch, so he scorned to enrich himself by converting the Public Treasure to his own Use, but justly accounted for it: These Monuments, in Spite of Envy and Detraction, will remain to his Honour in the Records of Time, and his Memory will live without the Assistance or

Expence

Expence of a lumpish Pile of Stones clamp'd up against the Walls of *Westminster Abbey*, as was bestow'd to commemorate the Loss of some of Her Majesty's Ships, and the more valuable Lives of many of Her Subjects, for want of common Care and Discretion.

As the Party had no Room to find Fault with the public Management, except in what was occasion'd by themselves here and in *Scotland*; so they had as little Reason to grumble on their own Account: Present Hardships they could not complain of, and had no Grounds to fear any future. One Instance indeed of High Church Persecution, the Dissenters gave us in the Case of pious Mr. *Abraham Gill*, one of their Teachers in the Isle of *Ely*, whom the Justices of the Peace had imprison'd, and afterwards list'd into the Service; this was joyfully laid hold of by Mr. *De Foe*, as an Experiment of his shortest Way and great Pains he bestow'd upon it to set it off to the best Advantage, to represent the Church of *England* as a persecuting Church, compos'd of a Set of Men, who had broken thro' all Laws, Divine and Humane, to persecute and ruin Her Majesty's Dissenting Subjects, and setting forth *Gill* as an excellent Preacher, a Man of a holy Conversation, and whose only Crime was serving God according to his Conscience, and teaching the same to others; that he had been a Minister of the Church of *England*, legally ordain'd by the Bishop of *Chester*, and been Curate at *Wilney* in the same Isle, but being dissatisfied in his Conscience at the Use of the Liturgy, he had gone over to the Dissenters, and set up for one of their Ministers. This Recommendation procured *Gill* a Party Purse to defend

fend himself and the whole Body of the Dissen-
 ters, thus deeply struck at by High-Church,
 thro' his Sides. The causeless Ruin of that ho-
 ly Professor, was all the *Coffee-House* Discourse :
 But upon the Tryal in the Court of *Queen's-
 Bench*, between him and the Justices, Gentle-
 men and Clergymen, against whom he had en-
 ter'd an Information, for an illegal and malicious
 Prosecution in the Country, and causing him to
 be impress'd as a Vagabond. The Whigs, who
 thought to bring off their Saint in Triumph,
 were somewhat humbled and abash'd when the
 many Slips of this upright Man were detected,
 when it was prov'd, that his Orders in the
 Church of *England* were forg'd, and that by no
 meaner Evidence than the Bishop of *Chester*
 himself ; That he had increased the chosen
 Seed by three Bastards, got on two common
 Strumpets, his Wife being alive, when, by a
 Cloud of Witnesses, of unexceptionable Credit,
 it appear'd that he was a lewd, infamous Varlet,
 a common Disturber of the Peace, and a noto-
 rious Cheat ; That he had forged two Bishops
 Hands and Episcopal Seals, which Forgeries
 were produc'd in Court, and that when he was
 detected and excommunicated, all other Trades
 failing, he set up an obscure, illegal Conventicle,
 for which, being within three Weeks call'd to
 Account, and being found thus unqualify'd in
 every Capacity for a Teacher, and the Meeting,
 even in the Letter of the Law, to be little bet-
 ter than a Riot, he was justly esteem'd a Rogue
 and a Vagabond, and as such committed to Goal
 for Want of Sureties, and list'd as a Soldier.
 But where Sin abounds, there Grace more a-
 bounds ; and for all this, *Gill* might be as errant

a Saint as before; however, the Court thought fit to dismiss the Information, not without some Remarks on the Informant.

Such another persecuted Apostle was *Combs* of *Oakhampton* in *Devonshire*, and doubtless the Records of the Assizes and Sessions might have afforded others of the same Kind; but certainly the Party was hard put to it, when Criminals were to pass for Martyrs, and a due Execution of the Laws, for Persecution of tender Consciences. But these Instances were such as they were able to produce, and Her Majesty's gracious Disposition and repeated Assurances, left 'em no Room to fear or rather hope for any other.

There were indeed, from the Beginning of Her Majesty's Reign, and a short Time before, some Endeavours used to abridge a Licence, in which the Dissenters of this Age had indulged themselves, which no Morals, but what were drawn from the Schools of the Jesuits, could justify, and which their most hypocritical Fore-fathers would have been ashamed of. The Test and Corporation Acts standing as Bars to exclude this Part of the *Whigs* from any Share in the Civil Government, and thereby securing the Constitution both in Church and State against their mischievous Designs, the good Men after divers Attempts, finding they could not beat down those Fences, resolved to leap over them, and for the Service of their Cause did not scruple to do what they pretended to think an Evil, and which they really made so, that so great a Good might come of it, swallowing the holy Elements of the Sacrament in the Church of *England*, with a sacrilegious Design to qualify themselves to ruin it. *Bethel and Concise*

led up this Dance in the Year 1680, when their Plots were ripen'd almost to Maturity; the Packing of Juries had been found usefull, and was likely to be more necessary, and this Couple being, by their Friends, put up for Sheriffs of *London*, scorn'd to boggle at small Matters on so good an Occasion, but conformed with the Laws; and notwithstanding that this Piece of occasional Hypocrisy was then novel, and in it self surprising, this great City was then so tainted with Faction and Sedition that they were chosen by a great Majority.

After the Revolution, for divers good Purposes, this scandalous Practice was more frequently repeated and more openly vindicated, insomuch that the City Sword was carried in Pomp to the *Conventicle*, a Breach being hereby made in our Walls, at which the Enemy march'd in and out at Pleasure, a further Security was certainly necessary for our Defence, by a Law to prevent this playing Fast and Loose with *God* and their own Consciences.

The Encouragement they had received in the late Reign, had abundantly discover'd their good Will; they already pretended to be upon an equal Foot with the establish'd Church, and to make their Toleration amount to an Establishment; so that the next Step might have altered the Case, and perhaps have reduced the Latter to beg in vain for Indulgence from them; and as these had been the Fruits of the late King's Foreign Education, and the Misrepresentations of his Correspondents of the Faction, in the Character both of the *Church of England* and the Principles of her Members, so the next Successor, according to the Limitation of the Crown, being

being likely to be no less a Stranger, and the Tampering of the Faction, at the Court of *Hannover* being no Secret, it was not improbable that He or She might be as much misled to place their Confidence, and trust the Government, where neither in Prudence nor by the Intention of the Law they ought to rest.

The dangerous Consequences of such a Conduct evidenced the Necessity of a Bill of this Nature, and a better Opportunity to obtain it was not to be expected; those who promoted it, (which were a great Majority of the Commons,) were satisfied of Her Majesty's Favour to the Religion in which She was educated, and did not doubt of the Concurrence of the Ministry in so reasonable a Security for it.

It is a melancholly Reflection to think that this should be opposed by any of those, whose Stations obliged them to take peculiar Care of the Church committed to their Charge: But this was owing to the unfortunate Politics of the last Reign, which fill'd the Vacancies in the Bench of Bishops, with Men of so much Indifferency or something worse, than nicknamed Moderation, that they seem'd ready to give up all rather than offend their dissenting Brethren. Whether any of them would have been so meek and lowly Minded as to have taken the Advice, which one of them (after having had the chief Hand in overturning Episcopacy in *Scotland*) gave to an outed Scottish Bishop, to go Home and submit to the Presbytery, is only to be conjectured: But as it was not the Behaviour of true Sons of their Mother Church, which had recommended them to Letters of *Conge d' E'lire*, it is no Wonder if on this, and

some other Occasions, of as near Concern, they acted more like tricking Guardians, than true Fathers.

But it was not only the Defection of the Bishops, which twice Shipwrack'd this Bill; the Loss of it was chiefly owing to a more unaccountable Strain of Politics, in two great Courtiers, of whom one held the Sword, and the other the Purse, who with a scandalous Prevarication made use of all their Cunning and Interest to conjure up Storms in its Opposition, and at the same Time by voting for it, would seem to favour its Passage, with the insignificant Puff of their own Breaths.

A Change of Party or Principles is no strange Thing in this Age; It is no Wonder that Men, who for sinister Ends had fix'd their Eyes on the Court of *St. Germain's* in one Reign, should, upon another View of their Interest, break off that Correspondence, and turn their Faces another Way; nor could it be expected that he who had been false to all his Masters should be more faithful to his Mistress: But why Men of their known Understanding, in a high Degree of Favour with their Prince, and for that Reason well esteem'd by the Generality of the People, and supported by their Representatives, should turn their Backs upon that, which is the greatest Safety and Happiness of Men in their high Stations, and should desert their Friends to set themselves at the Head of a prick-Ear'd Faction, which yet scorn'd to allow them that Honour, is not so easily to be accounted for, and may deserve some Enquiry.

The General and the Treasurer, with their united Families had so much of the Queen's Favour

Favour, as made them presume it all their Due, and therefore could bear no Sharers in it; this drew their Envy and Ill-Will on all, who would not entirely depend on them, and especially on a noble Lord, then at the Head of Her Majesty's Councils, whose approv'd Integrity, Loyalty and Wisdom gave him a better Title to Her Esteem and Confidence, than his Proximity of Blood.

On the other Hand, some of the Church Party were not without their Grumbings; they could not with Pleasure see their Sovereign monopolised, and the fructifying Streams of Royal Bounty confined to one or two overgrown Cisterns, and from thence dispersed, as the Ingrossers pleased, to their own Creatures; particularly, Sir *Edward Seymour*, who always carried a strong Party after him, was not a little disgusted at his being supplanted by the Dutches of *Marlborough* in the Rangership of *Windsor* great Park, an Employment thought not very proper for a Lady: It is probable this might contribute to the Pinch She met with, in the Business of the Pension of 5000 *l. per Ann.* then lately granted to the Duke out of the Post-Office, which by a late Act of Parliament could continue no longer than the Queen's own Life, and that not being sufficient, a Message must be sent to the Commons to recommend a Parliamentary Perpetuation of it: But tho' the House unanimously concurred in acknowledging the Duke's good Services, and were well pleased that Her Majesty should extend her Royal Bounty to such Merit, yet they did not comply with the Proposal, for Fear of making a President for future Alienations of the Crown Revenues, so much reduced by the

exorbitant Grants of the last Reign, and lately secured and settled by Act of Parliament.

However silently the Duke carried it, on this Disappointment, his haughty Dame was sufficiently nettled; she could ill bear any Opposition to her Humour, and worse to her Interest; all the fair Words in the Commons Answer the good Housewife thought would butter no Cabbage, therefore She was not to be so contented. These Bickerings were Nuts to the adverse Faction, who soon made the Breaches wide enough for themselves to enter at.

They had for many Years past, with as much Falshood as Malice, traduced the ChurchParty as Friends to *France* and Enemies to *Holland*; and had industriously raised Jealousies in the Allies against some of those then in Power, whom they represented as false to them, because they were true to the Interest of their own Country: TheAlliances had been maintained with the most honest Zeal and Sincerity, but because the English Councils were not then quite so subject, as in a late Reign, to Dutch Influence, it must be thought that People retain'd a great Kindness for their old Chapmen, and could not but wish for the Restoration of those who were better *Belgians* than *Britons*, who on the other Hand, having now Opportunities of sowing Differences between these Ministers and their old Friends, the most strenuous Endeavours and most prevailing Arguments were not wanting on either Side of the Water to introduce a Change at Court, and to bring in a Set of Men more for their Purpose.

That habitual Traytor *Sunderland* is thought to have been a chief Actor in this Farce, to
which

which the Alliance between his Family and the Duke's was a Prelude ; and tho' the old Stager made his Exit in the first Act, yet the Play went on ; the Ministers had been plentifully teaz'd by one Party, and having now disoblig'd the other, must fall in with one Side to prevent a Junction of both, to their Prejudice, and were easily byass'd by foreign Arguments and Advantages, to compound with a tiresom Faction to curb those, whom by Nature and Principles they knew to be more passive ; and thus the publick Interest of the Queen and Kingdom, and the Safety of the Constitution were sacrificed to private Avarice and Ambition.

The War, amongst unaccountable other Conveniencies, afforded a Pair of excellent Handles to the Tools employ'd in this Work ; a good Understanding with our Confederates Abroad, and Peace and Union at Home, were certainly very desirable and very necessary Things ; but that one was to be purchased at the Hazard of our own Government, and the other attain'd by spiriting up a decayed expiring Faction, were strange Paradoxes of State ; however they were then to pass for Demonstrations : The Allies could confide in none but Men of stanch *Revolution Principles* ; the Church Party was charged with opposite Qualities, a Coldness to the War and the Confederacy, and too much Heat and Passion against their Neighbours ; the Occasional Bill was made red hot Persecution ; the Number and Strength of the Dissenters was magnified, the Danger of disobliging them exaggerated, the Umbrage it might give to our Allies and to our Protestant Brethren in *Scotland* was fully display'd ; the ill-Consequences of Civil Dissention

was most loudly exclaim'd against, by those who were most busy in raising it: The Queen must have the Hearts of all Her Subjects, all Parties must be equally encouraged, and the Heat of the Churchmen must be allay'd by a Mixture of *Moderation*, which was now made the only Word to gain Admittance into any Place of Preferment.

We must not believe, however, that these Ministers were so ignorant of the Natures of their new Allies, as to think of trusting them with too much Power; but having all the Money and Places in the Kingdom, in a Manner, at their own Disposal, they thought by playing one Party against the other, to keep a Check upon both, and by a cunning Disposal of their Favours, to gain such a Number of Dependants on each Side, as might secure them against the Odium of either, and at any Time cast the Balance which Way they pleased.

The ill Success of these trimming checquer-work Politicks had often been experienced; they had brought one King to the Block, turn'd another out of Doors, and brought another to the Brink of Ruin. Co-alition has been always found but another Word for Confusion; and governing by Parties, like plowing with an Ox and an Ass. Nor am I ashamed to pronounce, as mean a Politician as I must own my self to be, that where a Party-Spirit runs high, and where the Court has continually so much Occasion for Friends, that all it has to bestow is generally look'd on as Purchase or Hire, rather than Grace and Favour (as is and has been too much the Case here.) No Prince or Ministry will ever be able to maintain an *Equilibrium* between
two

two contending Parties, but there will be a perpetual Struggle, which will embarrass the publick Business, till one Side has obtained such a Superiority, as to carry what they please without Opposition.

And this was the Event now. The disagreeable Composition proposed to moderate our Heats, did, by a Kind of *Antiperistasis*, still more increase them; one Side was anger'd and the other not pleased; if the former thought they had lost too much, the others were not content with what they had got, but having squeez'd in some of their Limbs, could not rest till they had wrigled in their whole Body, and by a full and sole Possession, moraliz'd the Fable of the Snake and the Hedge-Hog: Knowing their own Demerits, they attributed the Favours they had received, to Fear, more than Kindness, and the Court Sun-shine did but warm their Courage, and animate them with fresh Vigour to pursue their Designs.

Hence arose the Contests between the Lords and Commons, which still more encouraged the Clamours without Doors; and the Court being by this Patch-Work no less divided, the Earl of *Rocheſter* with some others, left it, when they found they could not prevent the Mischiefs they foresaw, and those, who would not swim with the Stream, were forced to make Room for others of more complying Consciences, or more fashionable Principles.

However, the Treasurer and the General trimm'd it pretty swimmingly, till the Session of Parliament in the latter End of the Year 1704, which begun the 24th of *October*; and the next Day both Houses address'd Her Majesty on the
 Successes

Successes of the Campaign ; the Commons taking Notice of the Services of *Sir George Rook*, tho' his Name could not find a Place in the Address of the Lords ; after which the Commons went immediately on the Supplies, with remarkable Zeal and Dispatch : But as they saw a Necessity of carrying on the War with Vigour, so on the other Hand they apprehended there was no Way to secure the established Religion and Government, and put an End to the Contention in the Kingdom, which were Points of no less Importance, but by passing the Occasional Bill : They did not think this seasonable Care could be justly call'd Want of Moderation, or that endeavouring to secure themselves from Persecution, shew'd any Desire to persecute others ; they thought it hard that Friends and Foes should be equally encouraged, and those who had always supported the Monarchy and Constitution placed on a Level with such as had constantly aim'd at the Ruin of both : They knew the Queen could never have the Hearts of that perverse Faction, but at such a Price, as would cost too dear, as well to Her self as to the Church and Monarchy ; and if their Strength was so formidable as it was represented, there was the more Reason to disable them from doing Mischief, by excluding them from Power ; for to trust to their good Nature, could produce Nothing but Ruin and Repentance.

But besides the Reasons, which first induced them to offer a Bill of this Nature, there were some Circumstances of a fresher Date, which seem'd to call more earnestly for it, at that Juncture. As the *Presbyterians* were wholly possessed

fed of the Power in *Scotland*, their Friends had got into the greatest Share of it here, and were grasping at the Whole. This Law for the Security of the Church of *England* had been, in an insulting Manner, twice rejected, and falsely represented as an Incroachment on the Indulgence: But in *Scotland*, tho' there had been no Opposition made against a second Act for the Security of their *Presbyterian* Government, yet when the *Episcopal* Party, in Return, hoped for a Toleration, it could not be obtain'd on any Terms ; no, that was homologating with Sin and establishing Iniquity by a Law, while *Presbytery* had more than due Encouragement here : It was made Treason to speak or write for *Episcopacy* there, and Moderation was as great a Crime on one Side of the *Tweed* as a Virtue on the other. The Protestant Succession was made a Stalking-Horse in *England*, and baffled in *Scotland*, which with the Arming and Disciplining of their People in Pursuance of their Act of Security, while the Doctrines of Resistance openly preach'd up here, seem'd to prepare their Way to Action. These Matters well considered, must of Necessity create terrifying Ideas, and oblige our Representatives to exert themselves in a speedy and effectual Care of the Government, both in Church and State.

They found the Tide run so strong against the Bill, that however necessary it was, there was no Way to pass it, but by consolidating it with the Land-Tax, and therefore they gave the greater Dispatch to the publick Aids; that in Case the Lords should reject the Tack (as they had in the first Session resolved against it) they might, upon a short Prorogation, renew and pass the
Money

Money Bill, within the usual Time, without any Prejudice to the Publick. But this was not declared, lest the Lords should from thence be the more encouraged to reject the Bill, which was prepared in a Manner as the Lords had pass'd it before, with an Additional Clause, *to ease the Dissenters of Offices of Burthen; and coming to a second Reading the 28th of *November*, the Earl of *Dysert* moved for referring it to the same Committee, which had the Land Tax before 'em, in order that they might be join'd together: But after a long Debate, at last coming to the Question, there were only 134 for incorporating, who were over-ruled by a great Majority.

I shall not here concern my self with the Reasons for or against the Tack, which may be seen in several Papers, printed on that Occasion; but this I must offer, that the Business of Parliaments is as much to represent and endeavour the Redress of Grievances, as to give Money; and tho' this Way of bargaining is not to be approv'd without great Necessity, yet to it we are beholden for many good Laws, which could not have been obtain'd otherwise; and it was pleasant to hear the opposite Party make Use of the Arguments of the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, against a more unnecessary Tack, which themselves put upon King *Charles II.*

But all Things are lawfull for that Party; those glorious Asserters of Liberty may do what they please to overturn the Government, but others must do what they can to preserve it; even the disabling Clauses in the late Reign, with the Penalties annexed, were highly reasonable: But this Bill was the Beast with Persecution

cution written its Forehead : After this Defeat it was easy to foresee its Destiny. It was read a third Time and carried by a Majority of 39 ; the new Converts not thinking it worth while to discover themselves by opposing it, when they knew they had it safe in the other House, where it was thrown out on the first Reading, the Resolution and Numbers of its Opposers being increased by their late Encouragements.

Some of that Faction have valued themselves upon their *Sunderland* Politics, in promoting the Tack, underhand to ruin the Party which espoused it, but the Fate of the Bill had been the same either Way, and the Tackers thought themselves obliged in Honour to stand in the Gap, and not tamely give up themselves and so good a Cause ; and tho' it was then, by the Arts of the Faction, turn'd to their Disadvantage, it will for the Future be remember'd to their Glory.

It was maliciously suggested, that by carrying on the Contest about this Affair, the Tackers design'd to clog and hinder the Supplies, and delay the military Preparations, that they were more earnest to annoy their Neighbours than the Enemy, that they preferr'd their Party Quarrels to the publick Good, and were at least consequentially Enemies to the *Queen* and *Kingdom*, and Friends to *France* and the *Pretender*.

How well they deserved these Censures, their Behaviour will shew. The Supplies were not in the least delay'd by their Discontent on this Repulse, but carried on with the same Vigour, notwithstanding the Provocations they had received ; so contrary did they Act to the other Party in this, as well as every Thing else.

As

As this discovered their Inclinations to *France*, so the following Instances will shew what Friends they were to the *Pretender*, and Enemies to the Peace of their Country.

v. fol. 67. The *Scottish Security Act*, (which I have often mention'd, and which was made one of the great Hinges, as the Tack was the other, whereon the following Turn of Affairs was carried) coming to be debated in *Parliament*, all Parties complain'd against it, with equal Warmth, but different Designs; the *Whigs* to take their Advantages of it, and the *Tories* to provide against its Consequences. By this Act, the *Scots* had excluded the Successor to the Crown of *England*, unless, that during *Her Majesty's Life*, such Concessions were made, as would have been ruinous to this Kingdom; they were in a very high Ferment, and to prevent the English Succession being imposed upon them, or to back other Purposes, their People were armed and Monthly disciplin'd. Now when this came to be considered in the House of Commons, these *Jacobite Tackers* proposed (as they might well do, in a plain Way of Reasoning) that the Passing of that Act did tend to defeat the Succession in the House of *Hannover*, but they were out-voted by the *Hannoverian Whigs*, for Fear, as it was confess'd, that if this Vote had been carried, it might (as was really intended) have led on an Address to the Queen, to desire the Princess *Sophia* to reside in *England*; and it seems *Her Company* was not desired by those dear Friends to her Succession.

Again, when some, who pretended to be wondrous full of Apprehensions on the Score of that Act, were for raising the Native Strength and

and *Posse* of the People ; and for providing the *Keelbullies*, and others employ'd in the Collieries at *Newcastle*, with Arms from the Tower of *London*, the greatest Part of those for whom that Arsenal was to be thus disarmed, being *Scotish*, and other rank *Presbyterians*, who were likely enough to joyn their dear Brethren of *Scotland*, and assist them in another Invasion upon us, to bring the unspeakable Comforts which flow from the Covenant into our Borders ; when the Lords address'd for arming the four Northern Counties, and a Motion of the like Nature was made in the other House, these *high-flying Tackers* declared against it. They did not think that putting Arms into the Hands of the People, at a Time when Feuds and Animosities run so high, was the Way to preserve the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, they were for keeping the Sword in the Crown, according to the Laws, and securing us from the Danger of popular and tumultuous Assemblies, which in Consequence might destroy the Succession and Monarchy it self. They considered, that where the Arms are placed there will be the Power, and where the Power is, there will be the Government ; nor could they approve the same Thing in *England*, which they condemn'd in *Scotland*, and therefore thought other Methods more proper for our Security.

Among other odd Maxims in the Whiggish System of Politics, this is one, *The more Mischief the better Sport* ; much of this Diversion they expected from the Feuds they had kindled in *Scotland*, and could comfortably have warm'd their Fingers at a Bonfire of two Kingdoms, had not the Flame been extinguished by the subsequent Union,

Union, in which that Party join'd on some Views, wherein they have been disappointed, the Strength of that Kingdom, as well as this, being found to lye contrary to their Expectations ; but tho' the present Danger of a Civil War was thus escaped, yet by the Advantage they made of it, we were near being put into almost as bad a Condition.

Tho' divers of the Party were admitted into Trust and Power, they were not suffered to rule the Roast ; the most obnoxious of them were as yet excluded, and the Treasurer kept them pretty well at the End of his Staff ; but when the Government was run into this Dilemma, either by rejecting the *Act of Security* to come to a present Rupture with the *Scots*, or which was more dangerous, by so great a Concession, to enable them to make further Demands, this latter Council being follow'd by the timorous Advice of that Minister, which was in Effect, encouraging Rebellion, by putting Arms into the Hands of a People, spurr'd to it by Poverty and Discontent : The Party having drawn him into this Ambush, Lord *Haversham* was made their Herald, to denounce open War ; they did not spare to set his Danger before his Eyes, and let him know his Head was in their Power ; there was no Remedy ; if he perceiv'd his Error, it was now too late, he had suffer'd his old Friends to be so much discourag'd and disgraced, that they had neither the Will nor the Power to screen him, so that he had no Choice left but to stand a general Assault, or surrender at Discretion, and submit to the Terms of the haughty Conquerors.

Thus

Thus was his Kindness to that grateful Party requited, and thus drop'd our Politicians, after about two Years Tottering between two Stools; for tho' they kept their Posts, I cannot but term it a Fall, when from chief Ministers to one of the greatest Princes in *Europe*, they dwindled into Slaves, to an upstart arbitrary Juntó, which for about five Years did not only Lord it over Her Majesty's Servants and Subjects, but over Her Self too, in a Manner unspeakably scandalous and disrespectfull.

Now, on a Sudden, the Scene changes; the Mask of *Moderation* was thrown away; the Fish being catch'd, the Net was hung up to dry. Not a Word now of encouraging all Parties; they knew that would never do; none were to be trusted, now but what were altogether such as themselves; and not a Hoof of any other Species was to remain amongst them.

For this Weeding-Work they had a favourable Juncture; the Parliament having sat three Sessions, was of Course to be dissolv'd, and the great Business was to get a House of Commons to their Mind. To this Purpose their Ballads and Lists, with their other Artillery of Scandal, were plentifully discharged against all the Church Party, but chiefly to pelt the poor *Tackers*: That terrible Name included *Papist*, *Jacobite*, *Perkinite*, *High-Flyer*, *French-Pensioner*, and what not: People were made to believe, that if the *Tack* had been carried, they must all presently have worn Crosses, Beads and wooden Shoes; thus by terrifying the Ignorant, and amusing those of the next Degree of Intellects, they divided those, who were always too apt to be bubbled by their Delusions, and strengthen-

H ed

ed their own Party; and by these Methods, with Court Promises, the Use they freely made of Her Majesty's Money, as well as Her Name, and Countenance, besides the Sums which were plentifully shower'd down from the Bank and Companies, and from private Purfes, they succeeded according to their Wishes.

We have now follow'd the Party from their lowest Ebb of Fortune, to the highest Spring-Tide of Power; wherein having less Occasion for Disguise, and ruling without Controul, they have expos'd their naked Deformities more than ever: The Acts of their Reign being so fresh in Memory, are not yet ripe for History; however it may not be amiss to give such a slight Sketch of them, as may recall the Resemblance to the Minds of those, who know them, and with a few Touches, to mark their Respect to their Sovereign, their Care of Religion, and Love of common Justice, their Regard to the publick Interest, Honour and Trade of the Nation, and their Tendernefs of the Liberty and Property of those, whom they ought to have esteem'd as their Fellow Subjects.

To set down all the Slights, Affronts and Indignities offer'd to the Queen, I doubt the late Examiner's promised Volume in Folio, would hardly be sufficient: And how could it be otherwise, when She was besieg'd on every Side, by those, who were Enemies to the Race and Name of the *Stuarts*, and Haters of Monarchy it self; how little of a Queen did they suffer Her to enjoy besides the Name, when She was not permitted to dispose of any Employment, Civil, Military or Ecclesiastical; when She could not name a Collonel of a Regiment, or Provost of a College

ege, but was forced to yield to these *Ephori*, and
 relinquish those She had recommended ; when She
 was obliged to turn off a Secretary, whose A-
 bilities She knew and valued, and was hardly
 suffer'd to keep a Bed-Chamber Woman, whose
 dutiful Behaviour had render'd her acceptable,
 because they were disliked by Her new Guardi-
 ans ; when Her prime Secretary had the Face,
 by his own Authority, to write Letters in the
 Queen's Name, to the Lord Keeper, to remove
 a Justice of Peace, and boldly express his unman-
 nerly Resentments, when they were disown'd by
 Her Majesty ; when Hers and the Nation's Mo-
 ney was not only squander'd Abroad, but mis-
 applied in Elections and Pensions, for Ends nei-
 ther serviceable to the Queen and Kingdom, and
 in Prosecutions against those, who were better
 Friends to both ; when some of them could, at
 Pleasure, dip their Hands into the Treasurer's
 Purse to carry on their own private Causes, and
 when Her Majesty was denied so trifling a Sum
 as it is a Shame to mention, Lord W——n
 could command what he pleased in order to de-
 stroy a Lease of a Lead-Mine, which he had a
 Fancy for ; but to crown all, when they carried
 Her to School, seventeen Days successively, to
 hear not only Her Father, and more remote An-
 cestors reviled, but Her Hereditary Right de-
 nied ; the Preaching Obedience to the supreme
 Magistrate, impeach'd with extream Violence,
 as the highest Crime, and Resistance openly
 vindicated before Her Face ; a Pitch of Impu-
 dence they had never arriv'd to, in Her Grand-
 father's Time, till they had unking'd Him, and
 tried Him as a private Person ; sure it was no

more than necessary to allow her a Curtain to hide Her Tears and Blushes.

But if they were not the most obsequious Subjects, perhaps some may think them the better Patriots; how far they have made good that Character, let us now examine. A true Patriot, I take to be one, who prefers the publick Good and Interest of his Country to all other temporal Considerations; who, in his Station, constantly endeavours to maintain the Laws and Government of it, to do Justice and preserve the Liberties of his Fellow Subjects: If in any one publick Instance, they have come up to any Part of this Definition, I shall be content to allow 'em all the rest, and yield them the Title, how little soever they deserve it.

And first in Relation to the expensive War, out of which the Nation is at length, with much Difficulty, happily extricated, had we had a Set of true Patriots in a Capacity of acting and deliberating freely before it commenced, they would first have considered the Reasons and Necessity of entering into a War; if that had been found advisable, they would have look'd in the Danger, the Concern and Pretensions of each Ally, with their several Strengths and Abilities, and would have taken Care, that their Quota's and Contributions towards the War, should have been proportionable; that the Assistance given to our Allies should have been such only, as was necessary for our own Safety, or the Preservation of our foreign Trade; that the Country should have been eased as much as possible of the Burthen, by a frugal Management; and lastly, that as soon as such Terms might be obtain'd as either answer'd our first

first Demands, and the Engagements to our Allies, or overbalanced the Inconveniencies of carrying it further on, they would have shear'd the devouring Sword of War, and gladly restored the Blessings of Peace.

Just the Reverse of this, have they acted in every Particular: Certainly, whatever Sentiments may be now entertain'd, the next Generation, when they read the History of these Wars, under the Burthen of which, they are like to groan, they will be very apt to call in Question the Discretion of their Fathers, that after they had freed themselves from one War, in which, by a Juggle and Combination between some crafty, selfish Neighbours, and an intestine Faction, they had been made the Cat's Paw, to pull the *Dutch* Chestnuts out of the Fire, and thereby burnt their Fingers to the Bone, they should before the Smart was over, suffer themselves to be bubbled a second Time by the same Arts, and plunged again into a War more desperate and more unnecessary than the Former: But what will they think of those, who when a Series of Losses and Misfortunes had reduc'd the Enemy to the Necessity of suing for Peace, after their Defeat at *Ramelies*, rejected all the Offers that could be made of our first Demands, and to let us know in Earnest, that they came not to send Peace, but a Sword, endeavour'd to perpetuate the War, by annexing such new Conditions as themselves thought impossible, and therefore did not think it worth While to make any proper Efforts, that Way: But after they had resolv'd we should have no Peace till *Spain* and the *Indies* were restor'd to the House of *Austria*, not on-

ly neglected that Part of the War themselves, but suffer'd those, who had the greatest Interest in it to be wholly unconcern'd; who disgrac'd an *English* General there, when, without Men or Money, he had, against Expectation, conquered Kingdoms, and done such Wonders, as Posterity will hardly believe, and supported a *Frenchman*, who by his ill Conduct, or something worse, lost all again, as if Success was criminal in All but One, and Conquest least valuable where it was most wanted: What can be thought of the Logick or Honesty of those, who upon an Inquiry into the Misfortune at *Almanza*, after they had own'd, that not above a Third Part of the Forces were in that Battle which ought to have been there, and which the Nation paid for, could with the next Breath declare all well again, and that the Want of the other Two Thirds was no Harm at all? What can Posterity think of those, who made us the Bull-Dogs of *Europe*, and clap'd us on the Back in the Winter, to encourage us to a more vigorous Run in the Spring, for the Diversion of our Neighbours? who obstinately carry'd on the War at a greater Expence than the Nation could bear, laying a Debt of above Two Millions every Year upon us, which Annually increased in a progressive Proportion; and all this with so little Regard to the Ease or Interest of their own Country, that as we augmented on our Part, towards carrying on the War, our Allies, who were much more concern'd, were suffered to sink their *Quota's* in Proportion; and when *England* had taken a greater Burthen upon her, than was either just or necessary, in Consideration that the *States-General*

General should, (as we had done,) prohibit all Commerce with *France*, their Part of the Contract was never insisted on; but we were more kindly than wisely contented, to enrich them and beggar our selves, by taking *French* Commodities from them at a Quadruple Price: To oblige them further, all the Aids, Subsidies and Contributions from the conquer'd Countries on that Side, were to go into their Pockets, as if not worth the Powder and Shot, which the Towns cost in taking (so well was the *British* Blood and Money bestow'd.) At the same Time what Regard was had to the Encouragement of our own Manufactures, let the Tent-Makers and Gunsmiths declare: But if we were not at present to insist upon Trifles between Friends, sure *England* was not run into all these Inconveniencies and Expences without an Expectation of reaping some great Advantages in the End, and of gaining by a Peace some Satisfaction for our great and unequal Expences in the War. But our generous Souls scorn'd those mean Thoughts, they acted by more noble Motives. Tho' a Foothold on the Continent might be necessary for us, both in War and Peace, as well to secure our Trade, as to land or withdraw our Troops, to prevent Insults on either, and not to trust our selves wholly to the good Nature of our Allies, (to which End *Newport* and *Ostend* were demanded for us, before the War begun) yet the Latter of these, as soon as taken, was generously presented to the *Dutch*, and among all the Preliminary Articles propos'd to the *French* King, or rather impos'd in the Mock-Treaty in the Year 1709, there is not one, which demands any Satisfaction for *Eng-*

land in Point of Territory ; and as to our Commerce, that was like to be put in a worse Condition ; for the *French* King being then, by the Bravery of our Troops, the Conduct of our Generals, and a Famine within the Bowels of his Country, with its usual Concomitants, more terrible than the Sword, on his Borders, so weakened, that he would have accepted of a small Pittance of the Spanish Dominions for his Grandson, and complied with any Thing, not absolutely to his own Destruction ; tho' our Governors were very safe, that, notwithstanding his low Condition, the Articles were so penn'd that it was impossible he should agree to them : For besides an unlimited Article, which, after the *French* King had given up, by Way of Preliminary, more fortified Towns than could be taken in four or five successful Campaigns, left each of the Allies at Liberty to make what further Demands they thought fit ; he was also to be tied to an Impossibility of conquering *Spain* in two Months, and driving out his Grandson with his own Troops, without the Assistance of any others, but the inconsiderable Forces, which were already there ; yet when the the Dutch, sensible of the Advantages offered to them, and of the uncertain Success of War, began to harken to an Equivalent, for the 37th Article, we were so fond of the War, that to bribe them to continue it, the Duke of *Marlborough* was posted over, and a Treaty was clapt up with the States-General, which settled not only a Barrier for them against *France*, but against *England* ; made 'em Masters of our *Flanders* Trade, by leaving them at Liberty to raise the Duties on the Passage of our Goods
up

up those Rivers, which they put immediately in Practice, and let 'em into an equal Advantage in the Spanish Trade, which they never had, and 'tis to be hoped, they never will have, thereby putting 'em into a Capacity of serving us there, as they had done in the *East-Indies*: And these are the noble Patrons of Trade, who in the present Elections, distinguish themselves by a Lock of Wool in their Caps, on a Suggestion themselves know to be false, as well as all, except a few of their Lamb-headed Flocks, know them to be Wolves in Sheep's Cloathing. In return of all these Endearments, and in Hope of further Favours, not only Gratitude, but the stronger Motive of Interest, could not but oblige the Dutch to a ready Performance of their Part of the Treaty; to send over another Swarm of Blue-coats to the Assistance and Support of their kind Allies, whenever a Signal of Distress should be given, under a Pretence that their Foot-Ball the Protestant Succession was in Danger: Nor do the scandalous Suggestions of the Party, since their Defeat, leave us Room to doubt, that had not our petty Tyrants, by that sudden Reverse of Fortune, been themselves forced to a precipitate Abdication, our dear Neighbours had, long e're now, embark'd a second Time in Defence of the British Laws and Liberties, and we had paid another Bill of Costs for being still deeper engaged in their Service. At this Rate was a War to be carried on, in which we were to be the only Loosers, till by impoverishing our own Country, and increasing the Riches, Strength and Dominions of our Allies, we had secured a lasting Peace, by putting ourselves out of a Capacity of disputing with any
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of our Neighbours, till we had enabled our General to support with Splendor the Dignity of a perpetual Dictator, and till a domineering Party had fortified themselves in their usurped Power, by the Spoil and Ruin of the Publick, and riveted their Chains upon the Prerogative of the Queen, the Rights of the Church and the Liberties of the Subject ; when these great Ends had been accomplished, then, and not till then, these Nations might have been suffered to rest from their expensive, glorious, fruitless, ruinous Toils of War.

When the Interest of the Nation was wilfully sacrificed, we are not to expect its Honour should be much regarded, which, tho' it is but as the Shadow to the Substance, yet has generally been insisted upon with equal Stiffness. Glory alone was a sufficient Ground of War to the French King, in his Heat and Pride of Youth ; but we were so far from those lofty Thoughts, that by our humble resign'd Behaviour we seem'd to be preparing our Minds for the low Condition, into which we were running our selves, and which, by the Respect our Neighbours shewed us, they seem'd to prognosticate (for Courts, as well as Courtiers, may read their Rise and Fall in the Countenances of others.) The submissive Embassy to *Muscovy*, to appease the Wrath of that Prince for the Affront his Minister had receiv'd, by an Arrest for Debt, when he was running away from his Creditors, for which he was so far from being discouraged, that he was presently after employ'd in *Holland* ; and our not insisting on the Payment of his Debts may be excused by the Circumstances of our Trade there. And on the other
Hand,

Hand, the *Suede* has had Leisure to repent his Contempt of us, when the Duke of *Marlborough* found him in *Saxony*, too much elated with a Course of Success: But we may see how we were esteem'd on both Sides, and even among those, whom we were serving to our Destruction. What Civilities the Prince, which we carried to place him upon the Spanish Throne, shew'd to the *English* Generals and Officers, who were pouring out their Blood in his Cause, is well known to all, who were there present: What a Figure did *Britain* make Abroad, when the *Portuguese* disputed and carried the Point of Command; when every petty Ally insulted and menaced us, if the most unreasonable of their Demands were not complied with; when the Dutch were suffered to impose new Duties on our Merchandises, in the Places purchased for them by English Blood and Money, and after we had born the greatest Burthen of the War, the Treaty of *Gertruydenberg* was wholly resign'd to their Care and Management, to do for us and themselves, as they thought fit: What Opinion could they have of our Government, when they interposed in Her Majesty's domestic Concerns, and even this must have gone down, had the *Faction* been so strong as they thought themselves; but the Queen just then recovering Her Freedom, and the Nation its Spirit, this last Affront did not pass without a due Resentment. Sir *William Temple* says, *That no Council is more vain than to avoid a War by yielding any Point of Interest or Honour, which does but incite new Injuries, encourage Enemies and dishearten Friends.* But certainly those Councils were much more vain, which squandered 7 or 8 Millions yearly
in

in a War, to yield both Interest and Honour to those, who were thereby encouraged to think they might ride us as they pleased.

This was the Condu't of our foreign Affairs ; and if we look inwards on our home Concerns, it is strangely observable how the Management of the publick Treasure was altered in the same Hands, after they had shifted Sides : The *Tory* Lord Treasurer, *Godolphin*, by his great Exactness and Frugality, reduced Interest to five *per Cent.* and lessen'd that, by taking in Money not all at once, but by Degrees in several Payments, which raised the National Credit to an unusual Pitch ; but after the *Whig* Lord Treasurer, *Godolphin*, came in, instead of the Royal Contribution, which Her Majesty gave out of the Civil List, in the first Year of Her Reign, towards the Service of the War, She was run into an immense Debt to Her Family ; and besides the Profusion of Money Abroad, vast Sums being wasted in Grants, Pensions and Rewards for secret Services ; about a Million, as there is Reason to suspect, being laid out in the Purchase of the Union, made necessary by a Blunder of his own, and above 240 Thousand Pounds in half finishing an enormous Palace, for a Subject to out vie all that ever belonged to the Crown, and which is like to remain a Monument, more of *Britain's* Folly than *Blenheim's* Glory ; Accomptants being screen'd by Party Merits or Friendships, and suffer'd to lye long behind : By these Means, and by Deficiency of Funds, the Debts of the Nation were vastly increased, high Interests and Premiums again introduced, and the publick Revenues anticipated, out of which Difficulties
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his Successor was left to extricate the Kingdom, with an empty and exhausted Exchequer.

The Observance of Law and Justice, and the Care of the Subjects Liberties, on which the Party pretend to value themselves, is of a Piece with the rest: Their scandalous Partiality in disputed Elections will be remember'd, as long as the Name of *Harcourt* remains in the British Annals; nor will it soon be forgot in *Scotland*, how many Gentlemen were seized and brought up Prisoners, only to hinder their Interest in the Elections of the first *British* Parliament: What a flagrant Instance did they give, both of their Mercy and their Justice, when they wheedled a poor Fellow to plead guilty to an Indictment, which they never could have proved upon him, and afterwards hang'd him because he would not purchase his Life by accusing his Master of a Crime, of which both he and they knew him to be Innocent. How exceedingly did Justice and Liberty flourish, when unguarded Expressions were raised into high Crimes and Misdemeanors, and common Riots into Rebellions; when an honest Judge was reprimanded in the House of Lords, for allowing a *Habeas Corpus* according to his Oath and Duty, and when the Post-Master of *Gosport*, who brought the Writ, being found one of their own Clan, was dismissed without Prosecution; when one Half of those who were confined for that Riot, were dismiss'd at Midnight, and Half of those who were indicted, never prosecuted, while the others were overaw'd by Menaces of withdrawing the Indictment; and being indicted anew, for High Treason, and wheedled with Assurances of Mercy to make them

them acknowledge themselves guilty of that; which several of them were not any Way concern'd in. It was, no Doubt, a very heinous Crime in those who surrendered their Charters to *K. Charles* the 2d, when the Corporations were generally poison'd with Whigism, but it was very legal and justifiable in them, who obtruded a Charter upon *Bewdley*, and garbled other Corporations, which they could not otherwise taint with that Infection. Our People had much Reason to pride themselves in the Title of Free-born Englishmen, when they were sold like Sheep to the Slaughter; and if they were a Day out of the Service of their Masters, were hauled away to be knock'd on the Head against Stone Walls, for the Service of our good Allies : Undoubtedly Major *Edgar*, and the other Gentlemen of *Ipswich*, were very kindly used, when, for opposing the irregular Execution of this recruiting Act, being accused only on the Affidavits of the two Bayliffs of that Town, of whom the Character of one is very well known, and the other confess'd he knew not what he had sworn, they were, without being heard, or admitted to justify themselves, not only put out of the Commission of the Peace, and order'd to be prosecuted, but the Order of Council publish'd in the *Gazette*, for a Terror to the like Offenders. The Party took Care however, by a Supply of Foreigners, to fill up the Gaps they made among our own Natives; but this shew'd them no better Husbands than *Englishmen*, if the *Palatines* were in the Necessities and Distress which was represented, they would have been glad of Entertainment in the Army, and there had been less Need of so Oppressive a
Law

Law, to force away our own People at the Expence of Four Pounds a Head, and afterwards of being at a much greater Charge in importing and maintaining such Swarms of lazy, beggarly *Palatines*. The Relief of Strangers in Distress, is indeed, a noble Act of Charity, becoming the *British* Spirit; and we know People well employ'd are the Riches of a Nation : But that the Burning of the *Palatinate* 9 or 10 Years before, should be a sufficient Ground for printing Papers, as was done there, to invite them over, so long after, when they were all resettled, at least all, who had either Industry or Friends, or that in a Time of War and Scarcity, when we could not employ our own Hands, or feed our own Mouths, which Blessings the kind Inviters intended to perpetuate upon us, we should be loaded with an additional Burthen of such useless Lubbers, is beyond my Understanding. By their Looks, they did not seem very likely to mend our Breed, and therefore the Bottom of that Matter seems to be this ; the Inviters were very fond of Colonising them, as they call'd it, and *New Forest*, and the *Forest of Dean* were nam'd for their Settlement. Now, if a certain Person could have obtain'd a Grant of those Lands, these new Inhabitants, like the Turkish Timariots, might have held, by Military Tenures, under our *Grand Vizier* and his *Basha's*, and been oblig'd to follow their Landlords at a Minute's Warning ; but the Project was disappointed, and the poor Creatures had Reason to curse those who decoid 'em over : The Papists, which were very numerous among them, and fared the Best, being, on a Complaint of the *Palatine* Envoy, re-exported at the Publick

Publick Charge, and sent back to their own Country, lost great Numbers by the Inconveniencies and Fatigues they suffer'd in their Ramble ; and of the rest, a much more melancholly Account might be given. But further, to make a Balance upon us, our Rulers at last perfected their goodly Design of a general Naturalization; and indeed all Things being consider'd, they did not then much undervalue the Priviledges of an *English* Subject, which had cost so many Millions, when they exposed them to Sale, to the Off-scouring of other Nations, at the Price of Twelve Pence.

As to the Matter of Religion, if we look into that, we shall find the Church of *England* as much beholden, as the State, to the ruling *Junto* and their Friends. This it seems was very early in their Thoughts, and however modest they were in declaring their Intentions publicly, their Correspondents on the other Side of the Water, who were in the Secret, were not so shy of divulging them. The *Harlem Courant* in *Aug.* 1705, told us, that a great Number of *Whigish* Members return'd for the ensuing Parliament, having lately met in the City, about the Choice of a Speaker, had unanimously pitch'd upon *John Smith*, Esq; that in the mean Time it was privately discours'd, that the great Design of that Party, in the approaching Session, would probably be to *abrogate the Sacramental Test* ; and that it should be sufficient to qualify the *Dissenters* for any Office in the State, if they should bring Certificates of their having taken the *Sacrament* in their own *Conventicles* ; that they also design'd to repeal the *Triennial Act*, and to perpetuate, or at least prolong

prolong the Bank of *England*; which two Articles were, without Question, look'd upon as very necessary to establish their own Power.

If they were not able to go their design'd Lengths, it was not their Fault; a Bill was actually drawn for repealing the *Test*, and the Scots were underhand encouraged to insist upon it, as one of the Terms of the *Union*, with Assurance that it would be well accepted here; but this was not a Work to be effected in the Infancy of their Reign.

But, tho' this was a Matter, yet a while, too hot for their handling, so vigorous a Step upon the Heels of what had pass'd on the Occasional Bill, being likely to raise a general Alarm against their Proceedings, yet the Attempt, its self, and a small Matter of Reflection on the State of Affairs, both in *England* and *Scotland*, with the Temper, Principles and former Practices of the domineering Party, and the late Humiliations laid on those, who had at all Times testified the truest Zeal to the established Religion, were sufficient to raise melancholly Apprehensions in the Minds of those who had any Concern for its Welfare.

The stronger Reasons they had for their Fears, the greater was their Crime in taking Notice of them. The Dregs of Darkness cannot bear the Light of Truth. How this Matter of the Church's Danger was handled in the House of Lords, and how the Publishers of the *Memorial* of the *Church of England* were handled in another Court, is yet fresh in Memory; nor is it to be forgotten, that because the lower House of *Convocation* would not suffer an Address to be cramed down their Throats, wherein these Jealous

fies were said to proceed from Nothing' but *Prejudice, Interest and Ambition* ; and because they would not own, that all the Suggestions of the Danger of the Church (which is never out of Danger, in this her militant State) were false and groundless, they were suffered to sit no more during that Session of Parliament, nor afterwards to any Purpose.

There was a pretty Piece of Sophistry in the Management of the Debates on this Matter : It must be made Sedition to have any Fears on the Score of Religion, and therefore, to bring Her Majesty into the Quarrel, the Church was voted to be in a very safe and flourishing Condition under Her Administration ; and I dare engage, that no Man had any Apprehension from that Quarter, but they justly feared, that when so much of Her Power was trusted in such Hands, She might not have been so able as willing to make good Her Title of *Defender of the Faith*.

Soon after they had got over this Affair, with the desired Success, there was an Address, of as odd a Nature, presented to Her Majesty, from the House of Lords. The general Assembly of the Province of *Carolina*, having lately pass'd an Act of Uniformity, which was duly ratified, a Petition was now procured here, which being sign'd by some of our City Friends, was presented to the House of Lords, who laid the Matter before Her Majesty, as a great and insupportable Grievance ; and doubtless many of them had the same Opinion of its Original in *England*.

The Civilities which the inferior Clergy, both in *Convocation* and without Doors, have
all

all along received from the Party, are easily to be accounted for : Their Attachment to the Church and Monarchy, is a Sin as unpardonable as that against the Holy Ghost ; for this Reason the Universities have also been loaded with their Favours ; many of those who had the Care and Education of the Youth in those Places were apt to convey their Principles, with other Learning ; and took Care to make their Pupils good Subjects and good Churchmen, as well as good Schollars. To obviate this Mischief, a Clause was to have been inserted in the Bill for the Encouragement of Learning, to take off the Obligation from Fellows of Colleges to enter into holy Orders ; which Project would have very much promoted a liberal Education in the most extended Sense : In the mean Time, private Seminaries were encouraged for the Propagation of Nonconformity, and we had daily Advertisements in our News Papers of very cheap Accomodation and great Advantages for Learning, in the University of *Glasco*.

Yet in all these Things, nor even in the pious Design of tying down Preachers to Instructions, nor in the famous Impeachment it self, a great Part of our spiritual Guardians could not see any Danger ; a mighty Friendship was struck up between them and the Dissenters ; and not only those who hated Episcopacy, but those who derided all Degrees and Distinctions of Holy Orders, and even all revealed Religion, became wonderfully enamour'd with a certain Set of Bishops, to whom they lavished their Incense of Praise, with as much Profusion as they had spent their Gall on their Predecessors ; how much it redounded to their Glory, let others determine : In

such a Friendship, there was no Room for Suspicion, nor in so profound a Peace, any Need of Vigilance on that Side; but they have let us know since that *non omnibus dormiunt*; they have lately lifted up their Voice, like a Trumpet, and sounded an Alarm against *Popery* with a Vengeance.

It is to be wished, more than hoped, that two Right Reverend Prefacers would lay their Hands upon their Hearts, and seriously inquire whether this Cry of Danger now, proceeds from *Prejudice, Interest or Ambition*; whether they really think us in any present Danger of *Popery*, or whether 'tis only used as an old approv'd Recipe, which has formerly done great Service, but is now grown a little mouldy; whether they imagine that *Popery*, in our present Circumstances, can possibly break in upon us, unless by the Assistance of those who rail most against it, without a Miracle, as great as any in their late published Legend of *St. Winifrid*; and whether those that raise this Noise are not as much guilty of Hypocrisy as Sediton.

How different from this was the Carriage of the other Party, when these were in their Exaltation: We had then no Murmuring in our Streets, no Slandering nor opposing the Government; the lower Form of the People were pleased with Holidays, Bonfires and Illuminations, and the better Ranks rejoiced in our Victories, as they hoped every one brought us nearer to Peace, which might cure all our Ills: A very small Number who had a nearer Insight into our Affairs, would have endeavour'd a speedier Cure, because they feared, that this being willfully delay'd, might come too late. The Struglings
between

between the old Ministers and their Masters the Junto, in the Years 1707 and 1708, gave some Hopes; but their common Interest piecing them up again, rendred those Hopes abortive: An empty Purse, kept the Treasurer a Slave to his Creditors; and tho' the General had modell'd the Army with a Parcell of *Scots, French, Irish* and others, whose sole Dependance was upon him, yet so long as the Junto remain'd Masters of the Cash, they were safe enough. In the mean Time the War had eat its self out, and the great Advantages offered our Allies were so tempting, that our Masters had Reason to dread a Peace, which was more terrible to them, than either Plague or Famine, as being likely to unhorse them, blow up their fine Schemes, and break all their Measures, which now finding they should not have Time to accomplish by slow Degrees, they thought themselves therefore under a Necessity of making one *Coup d' Eclat*, one bold Push for All; and this was by impeaching a Doctrine which the *Church of England* had looked upon as one of her distinguishing Characteristics, and to fix upon it and its Professors an indelible Mark of Infamy.

It seems very strange, that those in Power should ever encourage Notions of Resistance, and especially such a Set of *Demagogues*, who, as they ruled the Roast, gave Occasion enough for the Exercise of it against themselves, for which they afforded superabundant Matter of Grievances.

There is indeed a Story of *Trajan's* delivering the Sword to a *Prator*, or Lord Mayor, of *Rome*, with this noble Charge, to bear it for him, but,

pro me, si
mereat in
me.

if he should deserve it, to use it against him : But if they had had a Thought like this, the Memorial of the Church of England had not suffered so severely under their Lash.

This Author had chanced to say, That perhaps our Wisemen might think themselves secure in the Passive Principles of the Church, against any Resentments on that Side ; and therefore bent all their Application to gain the other, whose Temper and Principles were more mutinous. If this, says he, be their true Motive, they may be simple, well-meaning Men, but wretched Politicians. The Principles of the Church of England will dispose Men to bear a great deal, but he is a Madman that tries how much ; for when Men are very much provoked, Nature is very apt to Rebel against Principle, and then the Odds are vast on Nature's Side——So far was well enough ; for tho' all their Pamphlets rung the Changes on these Words ; and the Bishop of Oxford gravely quoted them in his Speech on Dr. Sacheverel's Tryal, yet they, whose Principles vindicate Resistance, could, with a very ill Grace, find Fault with them. But here was the Crime——Whether (continues the Author) the Provocations given to the Church of England may not, if continued, be strong enough to rouse Nature, some of our Statesmen would do well to consider in Time. For tho' the Church is not to be wrought up to Rebellion, yet they may be so alarm'd at the Peril of those Ministers, who gave the Alarm ; nor is it to be expected, that they should long bear to be thus used, and see a Party, that they know seek their Ruin, courted at their Expence, u

This was not to be forgiven ; Princes might be resisted, but not their Ministers ; that is when the Ministry is of that Party, or in plain English

English, Resistance is only their Privilege ; an inadvertent Action in any others, may amount to Rebellion ; *Damary* and *Pirichas* experienc'd this to their Cost, and tho' the Publishers of this Book were so severely treated; yet since the Tide turn'd, what Deluges of Scurrility have they pour'd from the Pens of their Hirelings on the present Ministry, without sparing the Queen Her self, whereby they have given a full Proof of their Justice and Moderation.

But to return from this Digression to the Affair in Hand, the Resolution abovemention'd being taken, the next Business was to make Choice of a proper Subject to work upon ; this they thought they had found in a Sermon preach'd by a Right Reverend, before the Queen: Upon this Sermon, their Teazer *Hoadly* had begun the Chace, in a Letter to his Lordship, and the Bishop having some Inkling of the Design, huddled up a Kind of a Reply, and declaring his Resolution of not being at any further Leisure, run down to his Diocess, where he was glad to lie snug till the Danger was over.

But it happen'd very well for him and for us too, that before the opening of the Parliament, they were put upon a new Scent. The Lord Mayor of *London* having procur'd a Gentleman to preach at *St. Paul's* on the 5th of *November*, who had been taken Notice of, in the World, on Account of some Sermons and other Publications ; This Preacher, in his Sermon, not only took upon him to utter a great many Truths on the *Whigs* and *Dissenters*, and to justify the Doctrine of Obedience to the supreme Power, but was so bold to make use of a paw

Word, (*Volpone*) which by some naughty Folks had been apply'd to the then Lord Treasurer.

This being heard by several of the Party, and particularly by one, lately made the Mouth of the City, and being afterwards publish'd, was recommended as most proper for the Purpose. Falling upon the other, had been flying a little too directly in the Face of Her Majesty, before whom it was preach'd, and who had commanded its Publication. But this little Fellow they thought they should easily run down, and then the Business would be done.

But they found themselves mistaken in their Man; to whom, without meddling further with his Character, I must do this Justice; that considering him in the Circumstances in which they first fell upon him, deserted by his Patron, Helpless, Friendless, and almost Penniless; to see such a Man bearing up with Resolution, against the Weight of a Nation, against such Prosecutors and such Judges as he had Reason to dread; to see him in the Face of that awful, solemn Judicature, baited with all the ill Language, the Malice of his Accusers could invent, all the while standing prepared for all Events, with an Evenness of Soul, equally free from Confidence and Dejection, it is easier to be admired than parallel'd; and could result from nothing but well grounded Principles, a good Cause and a clear Conscience.

From hence may that Party date their Ruin, the Eyes of all the World were open'd, and the Charm suddenly dissolv'd, and altho' they made a Shift by begging and hiring Votes against him upon Promise of an easy Censure to gain several over to their Side of the Question; among

among whom was a noble Lord lately deceas'd, who being promis'd the Government of *Jamaica*, it occasion'd a Jest upon him, that he pleaded Guilty and beg'd for Transportation) and with much ado carry'd their Point: Yet had they no Reason to boast a Conquest, which forc'd the Victors to quit the Field, and left the Victim more than Conqueror.

The Addressee which flew up from all Parts of *England*, soon discover'd the Genuine Disposition and Temper of the People, and their Sentiments on the late Proceedings, which being wisely laid hold on, Her Majesty was encouraged to exert the Queen, and endeavour to free Herself and Her People, by shaking off an imperious Ministry; in the first Place dismissing one of Her Secretaries, a worthy Son of that *Judas*, who had betray'd and ruin'd her Father.

This surprising Blow made them cry out for Help, and call in their Friends and Allies to their Aid, but all in vain. Her Majesty, with a Resolution worthy of Her Self, let them know, She would not be directed, either by the Bank of *England* or the States of *Holland* in the Choice of Her Servants. Their Mines fell in upon them, and their Tricks only expos'd their own Knavery: The Knot being broke they drop'd off one after another, leaving their Places to be fill'd, more to the Satisfaction both of the Queen and Kingdom: The impeaching Parliament was dissolv'd and the People were left at Liberty, to do themselves Justice in a truer Representative.

To go thro' this difficult Work, and to bring this great Change to Perfection, it required all the Firmness of Her Majesty, and all the Consummate

summate Prudence and Ability of that great Statesman; on whom She wisely chose to place Her greatest Reliance in so critical a Juncture; and all this had not been sufficient, without that general Alarm occasion'd by the Impeachment, which wrought a Change in the Humour of the People, and fitted them for a Change of Government. The Doctor's Enemies were pleased to call him an insignificant Tool, but, to their Sorrow, they found him (tho' accidentally) a very useful Instrument in this great and glorious Revolution.

A Revolution, in it self much more necessary and more honourable, and in its Consequences much more beneficial, than that most celebrated one of 1688; we were hereby delivered from a greater and more real Danger, than by the former, which was the Effect of a Train of Management, laid and carried on for that very End, thro' a Course of 15 or 16 Years, and at last brought to Perfection, by the detestable Practice of decoying a too credulous Prince into the Snares they had laid for him, and wheedling him into those Actions, which others of the same Party at the same Time made Use of to terrify the People, and gain Credit to all the false Stories and Calumnies, which were spread about to blow up their Passions against him: But this latter was produced by those overt Actions, which needed neither Addition nor Exaggeration. The deluded King suffered for His evil Counsellors, and to gratify the Ambition of his Invader, was stripp'd and driven out of the Kingdom to beg Subsistence for Himself and Family: But the aspiring General was suffered to go abroad to Foraging, and to march off with Bag and

and Baggage. The former Revolution was design'd on Purpose to entail a War upon us, to impoverish us, and aggrandise a Rival Nation, and to encourage them to fresh Impositions upon us: But by the latter, a Stop was put to those Measures, and the despair'd of Blessings of Peace restored. One was the Source of those Robberies, Depredations and Depeculations which have impoverish'd the Kingdom, and run the Publick into those Difficulties, from which it could be extricated by nothing, but this other Change. The first was intended for the new Modelling of the establish'd Government, both in Church and State; the other hath restored and defended them, and baffled those Projects which were design'd to finish what could not be carried thro' Stitch at the former Revolution.

For we are not to think that all the Parade at *Westminster-Hall*, was only to crush one single Person, or that the Scaffolding there, was built for a Theatre, whereon to fight a pitch'd Battle of Opinions; they had larger Views, and which, at that Time, they were not at all shv of owning. Let any one imagine, if they had succeeded according to their Hopes, and could have form'd and settled a new Test upon the Foot of the Impeachment, and establish'd their Instructions for Preachers, what a terrible Effect this must have had, upon the *Church of England*: But this was not all; if they had carried the Right of Resistance, by what an easie Transition had they step'd into an Alteration of the Civil Government. Wherever there is a Right, there ought to be a Power to support that Right. Where the End is granted, the Means to that End ought to be allow'd; one without the other

other is a Jest: If therefore our Laws were deficient in that Case, they had then Occasion and Opportunity to supply that Defect; and if the Power of the Militia had been taken from the Crown, and placed in some other Hands, Her Majesty had been much obliged to them, if they would have suffer'd Her to live out Her Days with the Title of a Queen, and allow'd Her the Liberty to choose Her Residence at *Windsor* or *Hampton-Court*.

But, Thanks be to Heaven, these Apprehensions are blown over, and the Diggers of the Pit, are themselves fallen into it. Yet, however Providence has been pleased to defeat their Enterprizes, and turn their Devices on their own Heads, I cannot, humanly speaking, have so ill an Opinion of their Politics in this Matter, as some have lately entertain'd, who think it had been much more prudent to have condemned the Sermon to the Flames, and only to have censured the Preacher in the Votes of the two Houses, which might have been done without any Difficulty; and indeed, had there been no further Designs grounded upon it, this had been undoubtedly the wiser Course: But they were then in a Streight; full of Apprehensions that some of the Confederates would have been tempted with the Offers of *France*; and jealous that even their dear Friends the Dutch would have drop'd 'em at *Gertruydenberg*, which would have been every Way fatal to them: They knew themselves so obnoxious to the Queen and the better Part of their Country, that they could not, in Time of Peace, have maintain'd their Power, the Continuance of which was twisted in with that of the War; and perhaps that

that would scarce have secured them from some Inquiries ; therefore they thought it proper to strike the first Blow : If it had succeeded, they had done their Business at once ; at the Worst, it was more noble to fall bravely in a great Attempt, than tamely to give up the Cause, for which they had so long contended.

In these great and sudden Changes it is necessary to proceed with all imaginable Caution, and to take such Measures as may confirm Hopes, remove Doubts and Fears, to gain as many Friends, and make as few Enemies as possible ; to which End, a Coalition was once more attempted with usual Success ; it was but natural to hope, that among the Whigs, considerable Numbers might be found, who would be ashamed of the late Proceedings, and abandon the Authors of them, when they came to be expos'd in a true Light. To shew therefore, that the present Alterations were not made with Regard to Persons or Parties, but Actions and Practices ; some great Men of considerable Interest and Estates were not only permitted, but desired to continue in their Employments. The Dissenters were also privately apply'd to, by one who had all the Reason in the World to expect a Compliance from them and their Reliance upon him. They were assur'd of Favour and Encouragement, and because they made loud Complaints, and grounded Abundance of pretended Fears upon the Insults the Rabble had committed on their Meeting-Houses, an Offer was made of a considerable Sum of Money, to repair those Damages ; and withal it was signify'd, that if they would intercede for a Pardon for the poor Fellows
who

who lay under Sentence of Death, on that Account, it would not only be acceptable to Her Majesty, (who undoubtedly did not think the Wretches guilty of any treasonable Intentions) but would tend to Peace and Union, and give the greatest Demonstration of their pretended Charity and Moderation. But these Condescensions served only to harden the whole Party, raised the Opinions they are too apt to entertain of their own Strength and Importance, and gave too much Encouragement to their petulant Behaviour ever since. Some of them, and particularly, one near the West End of *Hide-Park*, could not by any Means be perswaded to keep their Posts, but stuck firm to their Engagements of one and all; in Hopes that Nothing could be done without them. The Carriage of those who remain'd has prov'd, that their outward Compliance was only for the Sake of present Interest, or in Hopes of better Opportunities to serve their Friends and their Cause; and the Nonconformists were grown so very self denying, that as well as they us'd to love Money, they refus'd what was profer'd, and were so extremely tender of meddling with Her Majesty's Prerogative, that they could not be prevail'd with to ask Pardon for a Crime committed only against themselves.

Perhaps some may think they were too much out of Humour to receive the Money, and that the other Refusal proceeded from the Want of a charitable forgiving Temper, but by the following Instance, it will appear that they can sometimes forgive much greater Injuries. A certain tall, sable complexion'd Peer not thinking his Merits sufficiently consider'd in the
new

new Advancements, suddenly turn'd short on the Principles he had inherited from an illustrious Father, and which he had all along, thro' the former Turns of State, maintain'd, with a great Deal of Constancy and deserv'd Reputation, and went over to the Enemy, entering into strict Engagements with them, to which he has no less punctually adhered.

For the greater Reputation and Advantage of this new Confederacy, and to create the greater Confidence between the Confederates, a great Stumbling-Block, was to be removed: This Lord was always esteem'd a true Friend to the Church of England, to which most of the others were justly thought not to be over well affected; if therefore they would now join in a Bill for its Security, which they had formerly so much oppos'd, it was hoped that this might bring over a great Number of that Party. This was no great Matter, at this Time of the Day; the Schemes which they had formed when they stood against it before, being now grown useless, and if they could again get a Majority, such a Law might be as easily repealed, as now enacted: However, as they do not use to do any Thing for Nothing, to have their Part in the Bargain they thought fit to make a Tack to it; they pretended that the Churchmen, or at least a great Part of them, were suspected not to be Friends to the Protestant Succession, and therefore, if in the proposed Bill, that might be provided for, it would take away the Fears and Jealousies of those who profess'd to be its greatest Friends. This Proposal had a very plausible Appearance, as tend-

ing

ing to cure Jealousies on both Sides ; tho' all that was meant in the Bottom, was only a Hope that this Tack might raise some Debates in the Lower House, which might not only Shipwreck the Bill, but do the Business of the Faction another Way, by fixing an Odium on those, whom they would scandalize as Enemies to the House of *Hannover* : And thus the Offering of one Tack might be as serviceable as refusing another had been before. But herein they found themselves mistaken in their Politics ; the Bill being brought in, and to set the better Face on the Matter, and to curry Favour with the Church Party, those who had opposed the Occasional Bill with the greatest Warmth, now appearing its most forward Advocates, It had a speedy Passage, and being sent down to the other House was pass'd *Nemine Con.* without any Alterations.

Thus they drop'd their dear Friends the Dissenters, and did them a greater Damage than burning a few lit Deal Pews. But tho' the City *Shushan* was wonderfully perplex'd on this Misfortune, and they cannot be reconciled to this Law, which they compare to the Decree of *Abasuerus*, and would willingly double the Heighth of *Haman's* Gallows for a great Minister, with whom they compare him ; yet they have intirely forgiven those who really did them the Injury, if it was one, and forgetting all Quarrels, they are again pieced as firmly as ever. What Resignation and Self-Denial these People can counterfeit to gratify their Revenge, and what Charity and Forgiveness of Injuries to promote their Cause and do Mischief. Their Virtues

Virtues are occasional, but their Vices natural; the whole Conduct, both of conforming and non-conforming Whigs, from this Time, has been spun with so coarse a Thread of Faction, Sedition and Disloyalty, that it would be an Affront to those, who have either Eyes or Ears, to offer any further Caveat against them. I shall therefore here take my Leave of them and my Reader. What is contain'd in this and the former Parts, if the Facts are true (as to my Knowledge I have not misrepresented any one) are sufficient to warn my Countrymen against them; and since the Church is now deliver'd out of the Hands of her Adversaries, the Crown restored to its Rights, Her Majesty to Her Government, and the People to the Blessings of Peace and Liberty, it is to be hoped we shall never again suffer our selves to be divided by the Arts, and deluded by the Pretences of those, who daily make it their Endeavours to impose on our Understandings, in order to recover their Power over our Persons, and to accomplish their Designs on our Government and Religion; and therefore, as the Pious Bishop of *Sarum* says, in a like Case, ' We see what Reason we have to be ever ' watching, and on our Guard against them.

v. *His
new Intro-
duction.*

To conclude with the Words of the same Moderate, charitable good Man, ' This is the ' Duty of every single Christian; but certainly ' those Peers and Commoners, whom our Con- ' stitution has made the Trustees and Deposi- ' taries of our Laws and Liberties, and of the ' legal Security of our Religion, are under a ' more particular Obligation of watching care- ' fully over this Sacred Trust, for which they

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must

must give a severe Account in the last Day,
 if they do not Guard it against all Danger,
 at what Distance soever it may appear ; if
 they do not maintain all the Fences and Out-
 works of it, or suffer Breaches to be made on
 any of them ; if they suffer any Part of our
 Legal Establishment to be craftily under-
 mined ; if they are either Absent or Remiss
 on Critical Occasions, and if any Views of
 Advantage to themselves prevail on them to
 give up or abandon the Establishment, and
 Security of our Religion : God may work a
 Deliverance for us another Way, and if it
 seem good in his Eyes he will deliver us, but
 they and their Families shall Perish, their
 Names will Rot and be held in Detestation,
 Posterity will Curse them, and the Judgments
 of God will overtake them, because they have
 Sold that, which was the most Sacred of all
 Things.' This I hope, tho' neither Bishop
 nor Priest, I may be permitted to say they
 will equally deserve, whether they let in an In-
 undation of Idolatry and Cruelty on the one
 Hand, or on the other a Deluge of Atheism,
 Irreligion, Fanaticism, Anarchy and Confusion,
 upon their Church and Country.

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